



Daily Report

East Europe

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War Crimes Tribunal Indicts Bosnian Croat Rajic

*AU0609141295 Paris AFP in English
1318 GMT 6 Sep 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Hague, Sept 6 (AFP)—A Bosnian Croat army commander was accused by the International Criminal Tribunal on the former Yugoslavia here Wednesday [6 September] of an attack on a Moslem-populated village in which 16 people were killed.

Ivica Rajic is alleged to have commanded units which attacked the central Bosnian village of Stupni Do in October 1993, devastating it and forcing the survivors to flee.

He is charged with violating the Geneva Convention on protecting civilians during time of war, and with breaking laws covering people who have not taken an

active part in hostilities, according to a communique from the court.

It said Rajic "is also known under the name Viktor Andric and is now in the hands of the Croat administration in Bosnia-Herzegovina."

An international arrest warrant was issued for him August 29, but the court did not make the charges public until it was told authorities had been handed details of the accusation and warrant.

The tribunal started investigating Rajic in March 1994 and he is the first Croat to be charged by it.

The accusation alleges he was the commander of Bosnian Croat forces in the Kiseljak, Kresevo, and Vares region of central Bosnia when the attack on Stupni Do took place on October 23 1993.

Berisha Adviser on Council of Europe Membership
95P21027A Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE
in Albanian 9 Aug 95 p 3

[Interview with Genc Pollo, policy adviser of President Berisha, by Sami Neza, taken from RILINDJA JAVORE: "The Albanians Have Chosen the Option of Stability"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Neza] The acceptance of Albania in the Council of Europe has been called a great political victory of the Albanian people. If we take away the enthusiasm, what are the concrete political benefits for Albania as a result of its acceptance into this important association?

[Pollo] The Council of Europe was established in 1949 as a club for Western democracies which had as a preferred theme the democratic system, the state of law and the protection of human rights. Despite the great changes which have occurred since then, the central focus of the Council has not changed. The acceptance of Albania by unanimous vote is, first of all, a public confirmation by the European governments and parliament members that not only is Albania travelling on the road to the formation of a modern state society, this began only a few years ago, but also it has gone so far along this road that it has met the criteria for acceptance. It is also a confirmation of the historic European vocation of Albania. For a country such as ours, which still has an image problem and is not well known enough abroad, acceptance into the Council of Europe is a big plus. Albanian deputies and diplomats will now be present at every discussion and decisionmaking session at Strasbourg and they will be able to protect and represent our interests and our views. Acceptance has concrete and tangible advantages.

The achievement, in the future, of an Association Agreement, or, as it is now called, a European Agreement, with the European Union is basic for the country. Membership in the Council of Europe has been an implied condition for the achievement of this agreement.

[Neza] Nevertheless, the acceptance came about without difficulty and tension.

[Pollo] This is natural if you consider where we come from and where the founding countries are now in regard to the institutionalization of democracy. The former communist countries of Central Europe are a considerable distance away. The procedures which were implemented for Albania were implemented for all the countries which have been accepted and it is known that the criteria for acceptance have become more and more rigorous. However, one thing made an impression on me: at the end of June, Moldova and Albania were admitted

to the Council. The procedure progressed normally for Moldova but problems were created for Albania. I have respect for the Moldovan state but, considering its historic, geographic, and current situation, I find it hard to believe that democracy is more consolidated there than in our country. But certainly, for Moldova, there was no campaign which attempted to prevent acceptance. Unfortunately, this cannot be said for Albania. There were organized and coordinated efforts by Albanians in Strasbourg and in diplomatic missions in Tirana to disseminate false or half-true information about the situation in the country. What Pjeter Arbunori said is accurate. Among others, the ambassador to Tirana of a large West European country also confirmed this to me. The purpose was to cause trouble and shame simultaneously. The unprincipled projection of domestic polemics into foreign policy and the subordination of the important interests of the country, such as integration into Europe, to the interests of the struggle for power is the worst thing which a political force can do to the country.

[Neza] Albania is involved in international organizations which deal with Asia, along with Europe, such as the Black Sea initiative and the Islamic Conference. However, it has not joined the Mediterranean Pact or the Central European Union. Is membership in these two organizations meaningless or of political importance?

[Pollo] In the last issue of your paper, the well-known London analyst Cviic [as published] stressed that Albania must join as many international and regional organizations as possible in order to use such membership on one way or another according to the need of the moment. This is true for any small country and, for Albania, which is coming from long and complete diplomatic isolation, it is essential. We do not have any opposition to participation in the organizations which you mentioned. We have regularly participated as an observer in the meetings of the Central European Initiative and full membership is expected to be approved if the countries in the Initiative decide to expand this organization.

[Neza] Why should Albania be in the Islamic Conference? The European consequences of this issue are known. Does Albania take advantage of its membership in this organization?

[Pollo] There are many kinds of advantages of membership in the Islamic Conference Organization. The diplomatic support which the 53 member countries of the Islamic Conference can give us in the United Nations or in other forums cannot be disregarded under any circumstances. Their votes were on our side, along with the votes of the Western countries, during the approval of the resolution on Kosova in the United Nations. Also, some Islamic countries have been a source

of investments and financing for development projects, something which, as you well know, we really need. Although it is a country which is based completely on Western values such as laicism, democracy, equality of the genders, etc., since a part of the population is of the Muslim faith, Albania can become a faithful conveyor of these values to other countries. Such a role is overestimated in the West which is concerned about the growth of political Islam. It is important that the main axis of the Albanian orientation remains European and Western and I am convinced that this is well understood in Europe. The ones who have not wanted to understand this are the Albanian opposition who, unfortunately, have made diplomatic crusades, misusing this argument.

[Neza] You have just had your first diplomatic meetings in regard to the association of Albania with the EU. You began with Greece. At the present time, is there confidence that there will be a stability of political relations between Albania and Greece? Did you ask for assistance from Greece or did you ask Greece not to prevent the association? What was the Greek response?

[Pollo] The request for support for the European Agreement with Albania has been made so far, during all contacts at all levels, to all EU member countries. I can say that we found understanding, approval and support everywhere. You cite Greece because my 13 July meeting with Minister Papoulias had repercussions. This happened because of the high level of the reception and the special interest we have in other relations with Greece. Mr. Papoulias, who had played an important role in the promotion of Albanian-Greek relations, said that the Greek Government would be the best advocate of Albania in the EU and in NATO. I delivered a message to President Berisha for the President of Greece. Within a few days, Mr. Stephanopoulos sent back a written reply, in which he assured Mr. Berisha of Greece's support in Brussels and of his desire to develop good bilateral relations, and reconfirmed his future visit to Albania. All these things are very positive and encouraging. They are a sure sign that the forces which aim at and work for friendship between the two countries are now consolidated and on track. The Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, which will be signed during the visit of the President of Greece to Tirana, will be an important step in Albanian-Greek relations. It will be a sure foundation for our bilateral cooperation.

[Neza] Are Albanian politicians and technicians prepared to carry out the European Agreement with the EU? Is Albania ready to handle such agreements?

[Pollo] Look! I directed the activity of the working group, created by the President of the Republic, composed of specialists from a number of ministries who

had the task of providing information on matters about which the EU was concerned in connection with the European Agreement. The preparatory meetings and the meetings in June with the delegation from Brussels clearly showed the high level of professionalism and the knowledge of EU requirements on the part of our officials. We learned that the EU delegation left with a very good impression and that this was reflected in its report. This report will be presented to the EU Commission and to the EU Council of Foreign Ministers and they will make a decision in regard to giving the green light for negotiating the European Agreement.

[Neza] When might this take place?

[Pollo] The EU procedures are not fast moving but I think that this will be achieved. The European Agreement would be the best achievement of Albania in relations with foreign countries. With such an agreement, Albania would have the same institutional link with the EU as the Czech Republic and Hungary.

[Neza] You said that Albania's membership in NATO ensures the territorial continuity of this military organization. Do you think that this quality is important for NATO?

[Pollo] Certainly. Territorial continuity is essential for the defense capability of any alliance. Imagine what tension would be created in NATO if Denmark, which is located between two members of the Alliance, Germany and Norway, had a non-Atlantic orientation. Albania's location has strategic importance valued by the United States and Europe. In addition to territorial continuity, the criteria considered to be important are the democratic system, the protection of the rights of minorities, civilian control over the army, a defense doctrine compatible with that of NATO, and the interoperability of military structures. The achievement of interoperability requires time but the other criteria can be considered to be satisfied.

[Neza] In what place is Albania among the states waiting to get into NATO?

[Pollo] There is no official list so far. This fall, NATO officials will inform the partner countries, including us, in regard to the final criteria and the method of acceptance but not the order of acceptance. That remains unspecified. Nevertheless, when there is talk about expansion, the Visegrad countries, such as Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary, are mentioned more often. This is understandable if you keep in mind the establishment of strong ties with Europe and the fact that they have strong and directly interested support within NATO. However, apart from this, I would like to emphasize that Albania's relations with the Atlantic

Alliance have developed at an extraordinarily rapid pace during the past three years. It is especially satisfying that the Albanian state is the most advanced in the region in respect to cooperation in the framework of the Partnership for Peace. Look at the number and dimensions of the many joint exercises in which troops and observers from all the main NATO countries and NATO neighbors have participated, while units from our armed forces have engaged in exercises outside the country, such as in Greece a few months ago, and they will soon do so in the United States. The Albanian-American SAREX-2 joint maneuver is the largest of this type in East Europe. Indeed, some partner countries have officially requested to learn about our experience in military cooperation with NATO and the U.S. The consensus of all the parties in regard to membership in NATO is something else that is very important. The stated consensus of all the parties is a positive element, but it is disturbing that some leaders of the Socialist Party, the party with "anti-imperialist" baggage, are saying in local meetings, possibly in the absence of the press, that "we should not be in any hurry to join NATO" or "let's study the situation and then we will see." Following the model of the Bulgarian sister party by sacrificing major interests for the sake of the votes of Enverist fossils is unacceptable.

[Neza] The Albanians are a factor for stability in the Balkans. Therefore, they can also be a factor for instability in the Balkans. I am convinced that, in concerned international circles, the Albanian factor is considered, more and more, as a determining factor of increasing importance. In this framework, Albania has chosen the option of stability while Serbia is playing the opposite card, that of destabilization, with the aim of creating a Greater Serbia. History will tell how the accounts will be closed while the current situation shows that Albania's choice is receiving approval and support everywhere in the international arena. The preservation of peace and order is advantageous to the Albanians, first of all, but the West is also especially interested in this. The special support which is given to Albania is based on its achievements in the development of democracy and economic reform and the general Balkan policy followed by President Berisha. The president of Germany, Herzog, expressed this very clearly in Tirana.

[Neza] It is said that the problem of Kosova must be resolved by discussions in the presence of a third party. What does Albania think about a third party? Have there been recommendations from the Albanian Presidency that Romania should be the third party in the discussions? Who can meet the criteria to be the third party in Albanian-Serb discussions?

[Pollo] First of all, the discussions with a third party must be accepted by Belgrade. Until now, Belgrade has been an obstacle to these discussions. If the need should arise to appoint an intermediary for this, the leadership of Kosova, President Rugova, must express himself directly. Albania is naturally active and supportive in this process. In recent years, intermediaries sent by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE, now the OSCE], the EU and the United States have mediated in the Balkans. Naturally, we have our preferences but the judgment on a mediator is made according to the concrete case.

It is not true that President Berisha asked for the mediation of Romania during a visit to Bucharest last year, as a deputy of the opposition misrepresented. He asked President Ilescu to use his influence to get Belgrade to begin the discussions. Mr. Berisha asked Greece to do the same and it is right to ask this of every friendly country which has any influence in Serbia.

[Neza] The opposition constantly complains about the President's lack of consultations with the opposition on important political problems. Do you think that such consultations are necessary or is there an absence of mature opinion in the ranks of the opposition?

[Pollo] The president has called together the parliamentary parties on several occasions: first, because of the tension created during the parliamentary elections in Kosova in May 1992; later, in connection with the official recognition of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] in May 1993; after the attack by the terrorists in Peshkopi e Siperme in May 1994; in regard to property; on privatization; and several times on the constitution before and after the November referendum. This was in accordance with the normal duties of a head of state who calls together and consults the political forces on major issues. However, it would be strange for you to require that the president consult you on all matters. The same holds true for setting up a multiparty presidential committee which has no political logic and no basis in our constitutional law. Just as strange and unconstitutional is the repeated demand of some opposition parties for a permanent deliberative body for political parties. The institution of parliament has played this role from the beginning of the representative democracy. Parliament has had various forms but has always served as an arena of political discussions and decisions.

The minority party's dissatisfaction with the numerical ratio in the current Albanian parliament is no reason to duplicate the parliament with another institution. If they are not able to reach an consensus in the deliberations, they can achieve it in another deliberative body in

which they are the directors and representatives. The question which you are asking about the opposition has a deeper side. Any political opposition can follow one of two alternatives which are mutually exclusive: either it can be supportive on common and constructive points and alternatives and, in this way, it can increase its influence with the majority and in the country, or it can be aggressive and critical all the time, thereby losing its direct influence but putting its hopes in the next elections. The Socialist Party has chosen an extreme version of the second alternative. A recent example is its silence in regard to the resolution of the very important matter of the foreign debt. However, the Socialist Party has not understood or has not wanted to understand that, in this way, it cannot enjoy the advantages of the first alternative. You cannot have your cake and eat it, too.

Justice Ministry, Court of Cassation at 'War'

AU0609194895 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE
in Albanian 6 Sep 95 p 3

[Report by Armand Mero: "Frasheri Sacks Brozi's Assistants—The Supreme Court Chief: 'I Won't Let Them Go'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—The friction between the chairman of the Court of Cassation and the Justice Ministry now appears to have turned into open "war" between the two. Justice Minister Frasheri yesterday issued an order dismissing immediately from their jobs the three employees of the Court of Cassation accused of being collaborators of the former Sigurimi. The minister's unexpected decree provoked an angry reaction from Brozi: "Nobody can issue orders to the chairman of the Court of Cassation, and as long as I am in this job none of these three employees of mine dismissed by Frasheri's order will move from their posts."

Frasheri's decision was reported at midday yesterday in a report issued to the press. After naming the three employees, Agim Hoxha, legal director at the Court of Cassation; Krenar Haderi, chief of the Foreign Relations Department; and Ndue Marku, chief secretary of the court, the statement explained the legal grounds for Frasheri's decision in no more than six lines. Referring to articles of the Constitutional Law, the Justice Ministry's statement explains that "the court administration is dependent on the Justice Ministry and as a result the appointments made by the chairman of the Court of Cassation were carried out in violation of this constitutional disposition." This is, nevertheless, not the sole motive for removing the Court of Cassation's employees. An investigation of their curricula vitae has led the Justice Ministry to the discovery that they worked under the former Sigurimi and took part in

political trials. The Justice Ministry's statement ends with a reference to their biographies: "Agim Hoxha participated in special political trials and has given death sentences, while Krenar Haderi and Ndue Marku were Sigurimi employees during the communist dictatorship. Under such circumstances," the statement explains, "they cannot work in the administration of the Court of Cassation."

Zef Brozi's reaction to this decision was curt and unhesitating. "The Justice Ministry cannot issue orders to the chairman of the Court of Cassation nor can the government," Brozi said to GAZETA SHQIPTARE yesterday afternoon. "The court is not beholden to anybody. As long as I am here, none of these three will be dismissed," protested Brozi, later explaining his opposition to Frasheri's decision: "The minister is not a contracting partner of these employees, and, therefore, cannot make any decision regarding them. All three will remain at the Court of Cassation for as long as they perform their duties as defined in the contracts they have signed with the Court of Cassation."

The researches into the biographies of Haderi and Marku, used to justify the Justice Ministry's decision, have not produced any surprises. The details of these two, though not those of Agim Hoxha, were even published in RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE. Brozi, together with Marku and Haderi, gave a news conference only a few days ago on this very matter, rebutting everything. They even said that they would sue the RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE journalist.

Yesterday's move by the justice minister has severely exacerbated his relations with Brozi, which have never been brilliant or free of friction. However, after the government's decision a few days ago to sue Brozi in the Constitutional Court, the chairman of the Court of Cassation now feels under attack on two flanks.

Brozi 'Besieged in Office'

AU0709110195 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian
7 Sep 95 p 2

[Report by Emin Barci, including interview with Zef Brozi, chairman of the Court of Cassation, by "A.P." in Tirana on 6 September: "Police Surround Court of Cassation—Zef Brozi Besieged in His Office"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dawn broke to find the Court of Cassation surrounded by dozens of policemen who had blocked all entrances to the court. Police cars and others with private license plates watched everything in the area round the court. At 0750 [0550 GMT 6 September], the car of Zef Brozi, chairman of the court, approached the rear entrance. Krenar Haderi, the manager of the

court administration, dismissed the previous day by Justice Minister Frasheri, got out of the car together with Brozi. The police who had seized the interior of the court called on Haderi to leave the premises of the court and not to appear at his desk. It was then that the conflict began.

Surprised at the situation in front of the court under his authority and at the behavior of the police toward representatives of the judiciary, Brozi asked the police to explain the reasons obliging them to surround the court. The police replied that they had orders, and had business with Haderi, not with Brozi. Brozi replied angrily, "You must get out and leave the court." However, an Interior Ministry communique issued at midday described the situation quite differently. "On the basis of the Law on the Protection of Important State Premises, security police this morning tried to prevent the entry into the court of one of the persons dismissed by the justice minister," as if those dismissed had been thieves or criminals. Many people gathered in front of the court, but the police ordered reinforcements and dispersed them. Deputy Interior Minister Agim Shehu himself came to the scene, and confirmed that he had given the order to act. Brozi tried again in front of the police: "You work for a mere crust of bread, so do not associate yourselves with violators of the law, who will one day be held to account." A group of policemen seized Haderi by the arms, and removed him from the territory of the court, thrusting him into a police car without license plates and setting off in an unknown direction. Brozi was left to enter the court building himself, but his rage and his voice rose still higher when he saw that the police were deployed inside the building too. At 0945 the judge, Bardha Selenica, came up to the door of the building. The policemen at the door tried to block her entry, which provoked an indignant response from her. The incident was resolved by the intervention of the court security staff, who took Mrs. Selenica inside. At 1030, two KOHA JONE journalists were taken away in a police van. They were released after their camera film was left at Commissariat Number Three.

After the end of the news conference held at 1300, Judge Selenica discovered that everybody passing through the door of the court was being filmed from a white Opel with TR3693C license plates and dark windows.

At 1400, Deputy Interior Minister Agim Shehu telephoned the members of Brozi's personal guard, which is under the command of the Republican Guard, and ordered them to report to their unit. Uniformed and plainclothes policemen kept the Court of Cassation surrounded until late yesterday. Chairman Zef Brozi was besieged in his office, where he also spent last night.

Interview With Mr. Brozi After the News Conference

[KOHA JONE] You said at the news conference that the state, with its behavior today, used up all its resources with the exception of its last resort. Can you tell us what that is?

[Brozi] Its final method to which it has not yet resorted is physical violence.

[KOHA JONE] Toward whom?

[Brozi] Of course, toward those who are today being subjected to psychological violence—the judges and chairman of the Court of Cassation.

[KOHA JONE] Do you think that the physical violence might extend to the physical liquidation you mentioned at the news conference?

[Brozi] Anything might happen, but of course such things are not done by ordinary people but by high-ranking politicians, whose names we know. I appeal to them to enjoy freedom tomorrow by not implicating themselves in crimes today.

[KOHA JONE] You said that you will shut yourself in your office. Why will you do this?

[Brozi] I said this because I have information that plainclothes policemen and servicemen are stationed in the vicinity of the Court of Cassation and in the side streets. A few are visible, but most are concealed. I am sorry for the policemen and the ordinary men in the special units, because, if they act on a criminal order, the truth will come out and they will be convicted in the end.

[KOHA JONE] How long will you remain in your office?

[Brozi] I will remain under siege on the court premises until I can assure myself that the forces using violence have departed.

[KOHA JONE] Do you have escorts to protect you?

[Brozi] The escort I had was taken away a few days ago.

[KOHA JONE] Have you tried to ensure your safety with the help of friends and relatives?

[Brozi] No. According to the law, the chairman of the Court of Cassation or any judge, when faced with any danger, informs the Interior Ministry and the Republican Guard, who are obliged to take security measures and to supply an escort until the period of danger passes. I have today asked those responsible for the Guard to supply an escort according to the law.

[KOHA JONE] What has been done so far?

[Brozi] My dismissed escort came to the court this morning, but they summoned him back to the Guard,

of course, in order to tell him not to go to the Court of Cassation.

Zhelev Addresses Assembly on EU Integration

AU0709090195 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 0600 GMT 7 Sep 95

[Speech by President Zhelyu Zhelev in the National Assembly in Sofia—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. Chairman, esteemed Ladies and Gentlemen, People's Representatives; I have the pleasure of addressing you and the European Parliament delegation on the occasion of the constituting of the Joint Bulgarian-EU Parliamentary Commission. While it is clear that events associated with our drawing closer to the EU have become natural and almost everyday occurrences, today's event, nevertheless, is of special importance for our European integration, and, therefore, it should be commemorated appropriately.

The National Assembly is the most appropriate place for assessing the experience we have gained on our road toward Europe. It was precisely in this hall that the Grand National Assembly adopted the decision that the Republic of Bulgaria should become a full member of the European Community. That was on 21 December 1990, a little over a year after Bulgaria embarked on the road to democracy, and the National Assembly reasserted its proper place and importance in a democratic rule-of-law state.

In this hall, too, on 15 April 1993, the National Assembly unanimously ratified our European association agreement. I cannot recall such unanimity in the vote on such an important issue for our development. We must protect this important public consensus, because it contains the shortest and most understandable answer to the question of where we come from and where are we heading for. That is because, on the one hand, European integration and, on the other, the political, economic, and social reforms are not only closely interrelated, but also mutually dependent.

Real and complete integration in the EU is impossible without successfully transforming our economy on the basis of market principles, and developing private initiative and enterprise. In the same way the success of our reforms depends to a large degree on our access to Western markets, technologies, investments, and experience.

Independent Bulgaria is not afraid of new forms of commitment. On the contrary, it is constantly seeking new forms of belonging to the European and Euro-Atlantic organizations, the most reliable foreign support and guarantees of its democratic and stable development.

Europe is our natural international environment, not only because of the geopolitical conditions and belong-

ing to the same civilization, but also because we have an identical system of values and European principles of the functioning of the civic society and democratic state. It is precisely the application of those principles in the practical activity of parliament, the judiciary, and the executive power that represents the best strategy for our European integration.

Since 1989 all Bulgarian parliaments and governments have observed continuity in our European policy. Today, in looking back on this policy, we can find every reason to be satisfied and optimistic. However, it could be even better if this ceremonial meeting, which marks the establishment of the Joint Parliamentary Commission, were to help us concentrate on the efforts needed for our future joint activity.

I take this opportunity to confirm again to the representatives of the European Parliament that the Republic of Bulgaria highly values the fact that on 27 October 1993 the European Parliament was the first to ratify the agreement on Bulgaria's association, and afterward assisted in facilitating ratification on the part of the parliaments of the 12 EU members.

The European agreement came into effect on 1 February, and its impact can be felt in virtually every sphere of our public and economic life.

Despite the difficulties, the internal institutional mechanism is asserting itself. This mechanism is designed to facilitate the process of cooperation in Eurointegration among a wide range of Bulgarian partners. The 15 plus 6 formula is ever more frequently allowing the Bulgarian Government representatives to obtain direct access to the methods through which the European organs implement their contacts and adopt decisions within their multinational framework.

It is no accident that the EU is our largest trading partner and one of our most important financial contractors. Naturally, if we want to be quite honest, we must openly admit that a large field of cooperation still remains unexplored. I mean the work related to harmonizing Bulgarian legislation with European standards. At the same time this process is an important condition for the success of the transition we are implementing.

Those who like picturesque phrases compare what the Bulgarian parliament has to do with Herculean labor. I hope that this will encourage the people's representatives to mobilize their forces to speed up the adoption of good laws that harmonize with international standards and the interests of the Bulgarian people. Otherwise, their labor could prove Sisyphean indeed, and their precious time wasted.

The ever increasing synchronization of Bulgarian and EU positions on many international issues is an impressive characteristic of our cooperation with the EU. The sincere way in which Bulgaria can share its concern regarding the Euroconflict, for example, or expect assistance within the PHARE [Economic and Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program for developing our infrastructure and linking up with trans-European communication networks is characteristic of our dialogue.

Such sensitive issues for our public as the unequal treatment of Bulgarian citizens in matters related to travel to the Schengen Group countries are becoming the subject of businesslike discussion.

We are on the threshold of a very important phase of the structural political dialogue between us, the preparations for the EU Intergovernmental Conference. Bulgaria, like the other associated countries, could contribute to answering the question of how the EU should coordinate the upcoming expansion of its borders while preserving its efficiency and the achievements of the cooperation mechanism that has been so patiently developed over the last 40 years.

I am convinced that just as the East Europeans are daily changing, so the western part of the continent will travel its part of the road toward the change in the name of our common future.

Finally, as in the past, I would like to express my conviction that in the next few months the Republic of Bulgaria will submit its official candidacy for full membership in the EU. With that, I note that such an act will be confirmation of the categorical and final choice made by the Bulgarian people.

I wish the Joint Bulgarian-EU Parliamentary Commission every success at its first session.

Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Videnov Hails 'Important Step'

AU0709105095 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 0600 GMT 7 Sep 95

[Speech by Prime Minister Zhan Videnov in the National Assembly in Sofia—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Esteemed members of the European Parliament, esteemed National Assembly members, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen; it is an honor to greet you on behalf of the Bulgarian Government on the constitution of the Joint Bulgarian-EU Parliamentary Commission.

I am sincerely convinced that, with its expansion to parliamentary level, this is an important step in

strengthening the dialogue between Bulgaria and the EU. I hope that the Joint Parliamentary Commission will play a crucial role in Bulgarian-EU relations, something we are relying on.

The Bulgarian Government tries to give every assistance to the National Assembly in its cooperation with the European Parliament. We note the European Parliament's growing importance and increasing functions in all issues related to the activity of the EU and its members, and we also note the cooperation the European Parliament and its members are showing in developing and accelerating the process of Bulgaria's association and integration in the EU.

I take this opportunity to stress the importance we attach to the document adopted by the EU on the strategy toward the associated countries and their preparation for joining the EU.

The European agreement on the association between the European community and its members on the one side, and the Republic of Bulgaria on the other, which took effect on 1 February 1995, and the white paper on harmonizing legislation, worked out with Bulgarian participation and adopted by the EU, are very important.

Please allow me today, when representatives of the European Parliament are present at this session, to stress again that integration in European structures is one of the major priorities of Bulgaria's foreign policy, it enjoys the support of all political forces, and is based on a strong public consensus. In this context I would like to note that the process of Bulgaria's association in the EU fully corresponds to Bulgaria's national interests. Guided by this understanding, even in its first foreign policy statement of 2 February 1995, the Bulgarian Government categorically declared that it will conduct a dynamic and consistent policy aimed at accelerating our integration in European structures, and more specifically, the process of association in the EU, until the achievement of our final goal, full membership.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I take satisfaction in stressing the active development of our relations in recent years. The specific instances in which this was expressed include the implementation of Bulgaria's European agreement, the joint work in preparing the white paper on harmonizing our legislation, the first meeting of the Council on Bulgaria's Association in the EU, the active participation in establishing the structure of our relations, the development of cooperation in the field of the common foreign and security policy, and in the sphere of the judiciary and domestic affairs.

It is no accident that the development of our many-sided relations was so highly assessed by the EU and

its members at the first meeting of the Council on Bulgaria's Association in the EU in Brussels on 29 May 1995. I believe that this recognition is clear evidence of the consistency of Bulgaria's policy.

Noting the priority importance of the European direction of our foreign policy, the cabinet adopted a government program for 1995-98, which has been drawn up in accordance with the five criteria for EU membership adopted by the Council for Europe in Copenhagen. The program is aimed at achieving the following basic objectives:

- The strengthening of democratic institutions that guarantee law and order and the citizens' constitutional rights;
- The further development of a functioning market economy;
- The strengthening of our national economy's ability to compete in European and world markets;
- The further development of a civil society on the basis of European values and standards of social justice and security;
- The provision of the necessary conditions for assuming the commitments arising from full EU membership.

This program, together with the incorporated internal state mechanism and the coordination and implementation of the Republic of Bulgaria's commitments under the European agreement, aims to create the conditions for us to be completely integrated into the EU. The far-reaching administrative reform that is currently in preparation, the objective of which is the rapid construction of a modern European-type administration in Bulgaria, is evidence of the seriousness of our intentions. At the same time, we realize the importance of having a comprehensive strategy on joining the EU. The documents adopted in Bulgaria in connection with our participation in preparing the Essen strategy, the white paper on the internal market, the national program on harmonizing legislation, Bulgaria's positions after the first meeting of the Council on Bulgaria's Association in the EU, and the basic documents discussed and adopted by the Government Committee on European Integration are elements of this strategy.

Nevertheless, we believe that European integration, as a major priority of Bulgaria's foreign policy, imposes the implementation of a strategy that unites the aforementioned documents and envisages specific measures and efforts to prepare the country for the negotiations on joining the EU. In this context I would like to inform you that, on the basis of what has been achieved, we are actively preparing a national strategy on joining the EU. Not only the state institutions, but also a wide range

of representatives from all spheres of civil society are participating. In the context of working out this strategy we are also preparing Bulgaria's official application for membership in the EU, which will be submitted soon.

Esteemed Ladies and Gentlemen, at the first meeting of the Joint Parliamentary Commission yesterday, representatives of the Bulgarian and European Parliaments had an opportunity to become acquainted with the government's views on certain priority issues related to Bulgaria's relations with the EU. I hope that there will be a profound and fruitful discussion on those issues, and on other issues included in your session's agenda. This discussion will play an important role in strengthening our cooperation. That is why I do not intend to dwell on these issues. I would like only to express some of our expectations regarding cooperation on the part of the EU and its members, something that could prove invaluable for us.

We hope that a suitable mechanism will be found for the associated members to participate in the preparation for the EU Intergovernmental Conference and the conference itself. This will allow us to take note of their views and proposals on important issues related to the future of the EU and Europe as a whole. We expect the EU Intergovernmental Conference to adopt decisions that will create conditions for full membership of the associated countries. Our position is that, after the conference, negotiations should start with all associated countries from Central and East Europe simultaneously. This would be in accordance with the declared policy on equal treatment.

We hope the EU will commit itself more actively to implementation of projects for developing the infrastructure in Bulgaria and the region and making it possible for Bulgaria rapidly to join the European communications networks. In this context we would like to see high-level participation of the European Commission and EU members in the regional seminar on transportation, telecommunications, and power engineering infrastructure that will take place in Sofia in November.

We regard as especially important the European Parliament's support for incorporation of the associated EU members from central and eastern Europe in the EU's structural and regional funds as part of the preparation for future full membership. I would like to stress in particular the issue of visa policy, which has found a broad echo among the Bulgarian public because of the difficulty they have in obtaining visas for travel to EU member states. I hope that the adoption at the European Parliament later this month of the resolution that is being prepared will accelerate the solution of this problem on the part of the European Commission and Council of

Ministers, and that, as a result, there will be a visa-free regime for Bulgarian citizens, as is the case with other associated countries.

We are prepared to conduct a more active dialogue with the EU on the situation in former Yugoslavia and on preparing a joint position on the European security architecture. In the context of this dialogue we hope for the support of the EU and its members in a problem that is especially acute for our country. I mean economic assistance for the states experiencing serious difficulties as a result of the sanctions against former Yugoslavia. The European Parliament's support is especially important for us in implementing the commitment adopted by the EU at the first meeting of the Council on Bulgaria's Association in the EU in Brussels on 29 May 1995, for resolving the economic problems caused by strictly observing the Yugoslav sanctions, including support through the PHARE [Economic and Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] Program and other international financial institutions. During my upcoming visit to New York when I participate in the UN General Assembly from 25-28 September, I will draw the international community's attention to this serious problem.

In light of developments in the peace process, I would like to confirm that Bulgaria has a vital interest in the immediate adoption of a comprehensive plan for the postconflict recovery of the region, with the active participation of the countries in the region. Bulgaria's objective interest is based, first of all, on its universally recognized role as a stability factor in the radically complex and exacerbated situation in the region, and as the international community's loyal partner in strictly observing UN sanctions.

Esteemed Ladies and Gentlemen, in conclusion please allow me, on behalf of the Bulgarian Government and on my own personal behalf, to wish success to the Joint Bulgarian-EU Parliamentary Commission.

Thank you for your attention.

Pirinski Receives IMF Director Wijnholds

AU0609135095 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 6 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On 6 September Foreign Minister Georgi Pirinski received Johannes de Beaufort Wijnholds, executive director of the IMF Netherlands Constituency Group, which also includes Bulgaria.

The possibility of obtaining a new stand by agreement between the IMF and Bulgaria was discussed at the meeting.

Mr. Wijnholds has positively assessed the development of certain macroeconomic indices in Bulgaria and has

expressed optimism regarding Bulgaria's economic development and future relations with the IMF. Radko Vlaykov, Foreign Ministry spokesman, said after the meeting.

Minister Pirinski has expressed the intention of the Bulgarian Government to further carry out economic reform in Bulgaria.

An important place has been devoted to Minister Pirinski's assessment of the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Bulgaria supports peaceful talks, Mr. Vlaykov pointed out after the meeting.

UN, NATO Accused of 'Double Standard' in Bosnia AU0609153395 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 31 Aug 95 p 7

[Commentary by Ventseslav Karaivanov: "Operation Was Announced in Advance"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Last night with the UN consent NATO and the Rapid Reaction Forces began massive air and artillery strikes against Serbian positions around Sarajevo and the Gorazde and Tuzla "protection zones." The strikes were prompted by Monday's [4 September] shelling of Sarajevo center, during which 37 people were killed and more than 80 wounded. This time the decision to carry out a responsive operation was adopted with exceptional speed, only hours after the UN investigation excluded "any doubt" about the identity of the perpetrators of the new blood bath. General Rupert Smith, UN Protection Forces commander, categorically concluded that the attack against Sarajevo's center came from the Serbian positions, although he presented no evidence to back this claim.

So far everything appears logical. The crime had to be punished. However, the speed with which the verdict was issued and carried out prompts several question marks. Why did the strikes begin precisely at a moment when the Bosnia Serbs officially adopted the U.S. peace plan and categorically rejected the accusation of having carried out the Monday attack? What is the guarantee that the Muslims again are not behind this act, precisely as the case was in February 1984 [year as published] when they killed in the same manner twice as many people and afterward blamed the Serbs? Later, when it became clear that the fire came from the positions of the government troops the things rapidly were covered up and forgotten. Therefore, now again the question emerges of whether this was not a provocation, and let us remember that the accused have the right to benefit from the slightest doubt. This is why the strikes against the Serbian positions appear rather hasty and insufficiently founded. In addition, "Serbian Krajina"

also was a "zone protected by the United Nations," but when the Croatian forces invaded it, the United Nations and NATO remained indifferent observers. However, now the Blue Helmets were rapidly withdrawn from Gorazde in order to avoid accidentally turning them into Serbian hostages during the long-planned responsive punitive strike. Obviously, what we have here is a planned operation.

Those facts again prompt us to see a double standard in the UN and NATO positions and actions. The operation began precisely when signs of willingness appeared

among the Bosnia Serbs to accept a peaceful solution. Simultaneously, the Muslim side insist on revenge and lifting the arms embargo. What guarantee is there for the success of the efforts to find a peaceful solution when attempts are being made to impose it by force? Even if peace is achieved, it will be a temporary peace because the Yugoslav crisis will not be eliminated if the sides are not treated in an equal manner. Obviously, it is not responsive strikes and revenge, but rather serious talks that could produce a lasting peaceful solution, that is just for all sides.

Holan Discusses Army Tenders, Corruption Charge
*AU0609174795 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY
in Czech 1 Sep 95 p 3*

[Interview with Czech Defense Minister Vilem Holan by Petr Bakovsky; place and date not given: "This Year, Domestic Contractors Cover More Than 80 Percent of Needed Army Supplies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Concerns have been expressed in the public recently regarding the results of several open tenders for Czech Army supplies. Defense Minister Vilem Holan answers HOSPODARSKE NOVINY questions concerning this issue.

[Bakovsky] The Defense Ministry allegedly does not give a sufficient preference treatment to Czech industry, and foreign firms receive the most lucrative orders. Would you care to comment?

[Holan] If I total up both the investment and the noninvestment purchases, 84 percent of all supplies this year come from domestic contractors. That is a very reasonable figure. We cannot ever reach 100 percent. There will always be goods that we cannot produce either in the required quality or at a sufficiently low cost. A weapon today is not just a butt and a barrel; it is highly sophisticated hardware that is very demanding to manufacture. Therefore, many foreign purchase contracts include a condition that at least some of the manufacture be transferred here. Thus, the victor of the tender for the tank-firing-guidance system, for instance, transfers 42 percent of the production to the Czech Republic.

[Bakovsky] There are rumors that this tender precisely has been affected by corruption. Is that the reason this tender has been investigated by your inspection?

[Holan] I have no data available that would lead to any doubts about the cleanliness of the entire matter. I want to approach the inquiry as a part of everyday life. The task of the inspection is to investigate more than just this issue. There are other matters that were selected either randomly or because of the volume of the order. Because it is a very important issue, I have also asked Minister for Economic Competition Stanislav Belehradek to check into it. Let us wait for what the inspection finds. If something is found, it will lead to serious consequences; if not, it should calm down the situation.

[Bakovsky] Your ministry also deals with a protest against the results of a tender for the off-road cars for the Army. How far did this affair get?

[Holan] I had an independent commission check into the dispute between Avia and Cesky Dub (the tender

was won by the Cesky Dub Land Rover Defender ahead of Avia Auverland, ed. note). There is one fundamental issue. Both Auverland and Land Rover contain approximately the same share of Czech labor, but, according to the experts, Land Rover is simply a better product. On the other hand, Avia is perceived as a Czech firm. The commission had to deal with this dilemma. Let us not make an accusation beforehand, however, that its selection was affected by some illegal practices.

[Bakovsky] Nevertheless, the tender ended on 30 June, and the entire affair has not yet been resolved. Is it not taking too long?

[Holan] We are trying to speed up the work of the seven-member intersector commission. It should finish its work in early September. There is, however, the problem of any reexamination. It costs time and extends the time of uncertainty. These checks must be conducted as fast as possible. Therefore, I asked Minister Belehradek to speed up the matter as much as possible so it is finished within two or three weeks. I do not know, however, whether that is technically plausible.

Confirms Interest in F-18

*AU0609170095 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech
2 Sep 95 p 2*

[Article by "fp": "The Army Is Interested in Secondhand F-18 Aircraft"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—Defense Minister Vilem Holan confirmed to DENNI TELEGRAF that, during the coming visit by U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry, he may be discussing with his U.S. counterpart the offer of the as-good-as-new F-18 fighters from U.S. aircraft carriers. Holan described this option as "one of the alternative paths to the MiG modernization."

Although not new aircraft, according to Holan, these machines do not have many flight hours. As for the price, it should be well below regular sale price. While a new F-18C costs approximately 1 billion korunas, the good-as-new F-16A can be obtained for less than one-fifth of this price. The minister did not even rule out the possibility of a possible license manufacture of some F-18 components in the Czech Republic. He said that it certainly is subject to further talks. "We always take care in such purchases that some parts are assembled or manufactured here because we have to make certain that our people have work," he said. According to Holan, the ministry is "successful in this endeavor, as evidenced by 84 percent of Army supplies originating in the Czech Republic." The supplies of domestic provenance include production moved here from abroad.

Assesses Officer Corps

AU0609170895 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES
in Czech 4 Sep 95 p 2

[Report by "gag" on a briefing by Czech Defense Minister Vilem Holan; place and date not given: "The Older Officers Must Make Room for the Younger Ones, Holan Said"]

[FBIS Translated Text] There are fewer than 300 days until elections, and that is the time Vilem Holan has to accomplish the intentions with which he assumed the post of defense minister after the recall of Anionin Baudys last year. "Among the projects that are important to me is the renewal and rejuvenation of the command corps," he said.

Holan claims that, shortly after November 1989, the Army had 130 generals. "There are only 30 of them left today, and I will terminate another five before the end of the year," the minister added. More than 600 high-ranking officers who have reached the age of retirement will leave with the generals. Holan denies any speculation of purges. "It is just a matter of rejuvenation," he points out. He admits, however, that many officers will perceive the termination order as brutal. "Nevertheless, they must make room for the young ones," Holan explains.

In the instance of exceptionally gifted experts at the age of retirement, the minister intends to grant exceptions. A General Staff source reported that this applies, for instance, to the infantry inspector, Major General Karel Kuba, and the Defense Ministry personnel chief, Brigadier General Zdenek Zezula. Holan does not deny it. He admitted that he is also considering an exception in connection with several reactivated officers who returned to the Army after 1989. They would probably take off their uniforms and stay on as civilian employees.

Holan is also dissatisfied with the composition of the command corps: "We have approximately 20,000 officers and 10,000 warrant officers, while it should be the other way around. To change this upside-down pyramid, approximately 500 soldiers must leave annually." One-third of the career soldiers joined the Army after 1989, 500 officers graduated from Western military academies, and 40 percent of career soldiers are younger than 35. "I have the idea of some 10 or 20 career soldiers, whom I will recommend to my successor for the posts of Army inspectors, corps commanders, and even Army chief of staff," Holan said.

Commentary on 'Secret' Slovak-Hungarian Summit

AU0609231095 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech
2 Sep 95 p 9

[Commentary by Peter Schultz: "The Top Secret Horn-Meciar Summit"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The agency news report that Vladimir Meciar and Gyula Horn met for a two-day summit in Stary Smokovec in the High Tatra mountains on 29 August had the effect of a bolt from the blue. The moment of surprise was even stronger inasmuch as the Slovak prime minister, who officially announced the meeting with his Hungarian counterpart for August as long ago as early July, declared about two weeks ago that the meeting would not take place in the foreseeable future.

If we take this denial by Meciar into consideration, the efforts to keep this Tatra rendezvous absolutely secret appear logical. Much less understandable, or rather incomprehensible, is, however, why the Slovak side was so concerned that the meeting between the two government heads remain hidden to the eyes of the public and the world. Namely, there is not the slightest doubt that it was a request, if not a condition, of Bratislava that the meeting be kept secret. If we disregard the fact that conspirational methods are so to say one of the basic modes of work used by Vladimir Meciar, we still have the confirmation made by Hungarian diplomacy head Kovacs for Budapest television.

Conspiracy "With a High Standard"

As is well known, both parties refused to release any specific information regarding the course and the results of the talks, which took place in the presence of only the closest associates of the two prime ministers, pointing out that their respective parliaments must be informed first. That is, of course, a very unsatisfactory and silly excuse. Even the awkward commonplace that it was an unofficial and private meeting does not cut the mustard; prime ministers are not private people, and the public has the right to know what the prime ministers, who hold their offices as a result of the will expressed in the elections, discussed. Of course, talks on this level always contain sections that are not intended for the public. Nevertheless, it is very unusual for a summit of prime ministers to conclude without at least a two-line communique and with a refusal to the media representatives of even a brief news conference.

Because a Meciar-Horn meeting cannot be dismissed with a wave of the hand, particularly at this time, a broad space opens for various guesses and speculation. Horn's

July statement can serve as the point of departure. He expressed therein his interest in talks with Meciar on the Slovak bill, currently in the works, on the state language. Another quite logical topic for the "Tatra table" was the ratification of the basic Slovak-Hungarian treaty, undoubtedly being delayed by Bratislava. Finally, the third key item of the dialogue most probably was the approaching September meeting of the CEFTA [Central European Free Trade Association] countries. Regarding the new "language" law, it is obvious that Horn said only one thing to Meciar: If it is adopted in the form it was proposed by the Culture Ministry and assumed by the Cabinet as the government bill, it will contradict not only the letter of the international treaty but also all of the principles on which are based the supranational European institutions, which Slovakia wants to join. The Hungarian prime minister very likely pushed Meciar to either completely withdraw this bill from the program of the September session of the parliament or leave out, or possibly rewrite, the most discriminating parts. The degree of response to his pleas will be demonstrated in just a few days: The plenary session of the National Council of the Slovak Republic is to begin on 6 September. Guessing is not necessary and is, at the same time, risky. On the one hand, Meciar has more than once proved his sense of reality and, under the pressure of rational arguments, managed to avoid the greatest excesses. But, on the other, it is true that, by pushing through the July package of four antitransformation laws, he already crossed the Rubicon once.

Progress Within the Framework of Possibilities

As opposed to the first, "progress" in the second set of problems can certainly be expected. According to Kovacs, Meciar could not guarantee to Horn either time or the result of the ratification of the Slovak-Hungarian treaty in the parliament. That is a very serious shift.

Still, in June, when the National Council of the Slovak Republic unanimously endorsed the Council of Europe Framework Agreement on the Rights of Ethnic Minorities, Meciar said that this ratification precisely must "procedurally" precede the Slovak-Hungarian treaty and that thereafter nothing would lie in the way of its ratification in September. Then, "by coincidence," following the Bucharest summit, government spokesman Hasala announced that the "Hungarian" treaty would be ratified "by the end of December." Now, it seems, even December is "out of question." Thereby, the greatest foreign political triumph of Meciar's Cabinet is also gone. The consequences are obvious: It is no secret that EU and NATO circles consider the "major Slovak-Hungarian treaty" a necessary condition for the eventual integration of both countries.

An analysis of Meciar's "backing out" would require a special commentary dedicated to domestic political correlations. Precisely in the context of the CEFTA meeting, his maneuvering seems very illogical. Namely, all of the latest signals from the West indicate that Slovakia and Hungary should become as close allies as possible. The signs are becoming increasingly clearer that Poland and the Czech Republic are detaching themselves from the Visegrad Four as integration "harbingers." In addition to the purely strategic (NATO) and economic (EU) reasons, the continually unsettled relations between Bratislava and Budapest act here as a negative factor. It cannot be ruled out, however, that the only accord reached by Meciar and Horn in the Tatra mountains is a certain coordination of approach at the CEFTA meeting because the two countries are joined in their interest to maintain a certain level of protectionist measures. Their most significant opponent in this effort will be precisely the Czech Republic.

President Kovac Delivers State of Nation Address

LD0609221695 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 0950 GMT 6 Sep 95

[State of Nation address by Slovak President Michal Kovac at the opening of the Ninth Slovak National Council session in Bratislava—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Moderator Ludmila Bulakova] The president's report is about 50 pages long. However, it is expected that the president will read only about 17 or 18 pages. [passage omitted]

[Parliament Speaker Ivan Gasparovic] Esteemed deputies! Allow me to welcome Mr. Michal Kovac, president of the Republic, to the ninth session of the National Council. [applause]

Esteemed deputies, as I have already said, the president told me that, in accordance with Article 102, Letter O of the Constitution, he would like to deliver a report at this National Council's session about the state of the Slovak Republic. Mr. President, if you please. [passage omitted]

[Kovac] Esteemed National Council of the Slovak Republic, esteemed deputies!

I am here to present to you my second report about the state of the Slovak Republic in the sixth year of the major social and economic transformation of our society, and in the third year of the building of our independent state. [passage omitted]

This report will focus on the issues of the country's human potential and on the prospects for its further utilization.

My ideas are based on my deep conviction that, for a small country, as ours is, it is of vital importance that we place our bets on education and culture, on the work know-how, and on our people's ability to open up to new achievements of civilization. In this respect, I would like to once again voice my belief that our success in the competition with the peoples from the developed world depends on our ability to develop and implement a modernization program whose objective will be the improvement of the positive traits of the population and the whole social and cultural milieu of Slovakia.

Only efforts aimed in this direction will be able to guarantee, on a long-term basis, a lasting and clear improvement in the standard of living of Slovakia's citizens and in the quality of our life as a whole, and guarantee a reliable place for the Slovak Republic in the community of advanced European nations. [passage omitted]

After the 18-month period that has expired since my first report on the state of our Republic, I can identify two political landmarks that politically shaped this period.

It was the change of government in March of last year and the fall elections, after which the parliamentary and government majority coalitions were formed.

The two landmarks and the subsequent policy pursued by the two government coalitions then made a characteristic imprint on this period. This has already attracted the attention of political scientists and well-informed publicists.

I would like to bring to your attention one important feature, a feature that is significant, first and foremost, from the viewpoint of the democratic development in our country.

Both the change of government in March of last year and the formation of a new government took place within the framework of the valid Constitution and the valid legal system and respected even those rules of parliamentary democracy that, although practiced, are not written.

I have to categorically reject claims made by the present ruling coalition, especially by the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, about a parliamentary putsch and constitutional crisis supposedly designed to lead to an illegal change of the Slovak Government with my direct participation.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen! I wish to assure you that I am awaiting, quite calmly and without any concern, the long-overdue ruling of the parliamentary commission set up to examine the events of March 1994.

Facts clearly confirm that, both in March and after the fall parliamentary elections last year, Slovakia needed a coalition government based on a clear majority and capable of ensuring stability, a government capable of performing its function during the whole election period. I have been supporting this kind of government ever since the so-called tacit coalition fell apart in spring 1993 or very shortly after the independent Slovak Republic came into being, and when the then government found itself in a parliamentary minority.

Since December of last year we have had a coalition government based on a clear parliamentary majority. This government should be able to work, at least for one election period, on building our statehood. It should create legislative and political conditions to develop and enhance the human potential of our country. This government should work toward our Republic's maintaining a front-ranking position among transforming and postcommunist countries, so that it can

reliably direct itself toward joining European economic and security structures.

A government with the support of a reliable majority in parliament can make conciliatory steps toward opposition parties and thus at least strive for wider mutual understanding and cooperative will in society in order to solve the most important tasks facing our young state. Intimately connected with this is the question of creating a broad political consensus—that is, the extent to which there is in our country at present an interest in achieving one and, above all, in conducting politics in the spirit of widespread accord.

This question can and must be put to political parties and movements in both the government and the opposition because, without goodwill on both sides, there can be no constructive cooperation. The government parties' willingness to compromise is decisive in this respect because they control state power, and the making and implementation of political and material decisions in public administration and other state-controlled institutions is in their hands.

Regrettably, I have to say that there has not been progress in this. Instead of dialogue we have permanent political confrontation here. You see, it is difficult to describe as consensus politics on the part of the parliamentary majority the way all leading positions in parliament and its committees are occupied by members of the ruling coalition and the way parliamentary commissions are made up solely of deputies for the ruling coalition.

Consensus politics is negated by attempts to use various means to cast doubt on the opposition's right to present its views at sessions of the legislative assembly, and it is also made impossible by people calling into question rulings by the Constitutional Court or even casting doubt on the Constitutional Court itself.

There are also other worrying phenomena in our political life, such as the large-scale replacement of leading personnel at all levels of public administration and in many other institutions run by central state authorities, usually without the reasons being made public. The public is also worried about the growing incidence in politics of a common lack of civility in both exchanges between politicians and on the part of the latter toward the public. Some cases are an utter affront to human dignity and present an unflattering reflection of those responsible to the public at home and abroad.

Our Constitution, as well as, of course, the practical experience of democratic regimes over the course of many years, has a basis in the principle of cooperation between the various components of the constitutional

system because cooperation between them is one of the basic prerequisites for their effectiveness and the efficacy of the entire constitutional system. That cooperation is, however, not satisfactory, in particular the cooperation between the president of the Republic and the prime minister, and also that between the president and the chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic. At the same time, I am not personally aware of not having on my part shown goodwill and a readiness for genuine and effective cooperation. [passage omitted]

Esteemed deputies! The transformation of the legislative system belongs to the most important tasks in the process of transition from the totalitarian regime to a democratic and law-abiding state. In the past five years, we laid down its foundations, but the greater part of the task is still ahead of us. We appreciate the effort made so far.

As regards efforts to move our legislative system toward the standards of the European Union, true, this goal has been stated in the government's program statement and in plans for the legislature, but the reality is less impressive. This is so, among other things, because too many laws are undergoing numerous updates, whether as a result of poor-quality preparation or for pragmatic economic or political reasons.

I already pointed out the urgent need for better quality of legislative work in my first report on the state of the Slovak Republic. However, all of the effort to improve our legislative system will be in vain without the effective work of the bodies of legal protection and without an improvement of the legal awareness of the public.

If I have to note that the situation in this area is not altogether satisfactory, I am not doing so, because only a few days ago my very own son became the victim of open and unprecedented banditry. I have come to this view on the basis of a number of facts that, on the one hand, illustrate the instability and the unfinished structure of the law-enforcement authorities and, on the other, cases of violation of the laws, or even criminal activity, among officials of these authorities.

The fact that the officials of the police and the prosecution are beginning to be drawn into cases with obvious political background, while the detection and conviction rates regarding crime against property and other types of crime are not satisfactory, is extremely alarming. This situation brings uncertainty to the widest public, while a section of the public is being demoralized and its already weak legal awareness further eroded.

This kind of trend in the legal awareness of the public is bound to have a negative impact not only on its general

moral state, but also on our efforts to revitalize and mobilize our intellectual, moral, and character qualities and resources. This concerns every area and, above all, the economic area that not only can, but must, belong to one of the leading forces of a new dynamism and development if we wish to preserve social accord in the country and, at the same time, initiate noneconomic development programs

Esteemed deputies! It is an established and attested fact that the internal policy of small countries has a significant impact on their international position. Since it came into existence as a sovereign state, Slovakia has defined its foreign policy orientation clearly and unambiguously as being aimed at membership in the two most important European and transatlantic integrating groupings—the European Union and NATO—and, as such, it forms part of our national and state interests.

In the third year following our Republic's gaining independence, we have no reason to alter our foreign policy priorities. On the contrary, we must continue along the path on which we have embarked, consider our next steps toward achieving the goals we have set, and achieve them in a readily identifiable way.

A country like ours cannot for economic, political, and security reasons be left behind when integration is becoming one of the main factors of dynamic economic and spiritual development in both Europe and throughout the world. A consistent prointegration policy is unavoidable owing to our historical, economic, and spiritual ties, our shared values, and our geopolitical position.

Whether we meet the key economic and political criteria for being ready to join the European Union will, to a large extent, be decided in Slovakia. That means that, when we make political and economic decisions, when we assess steps we take to transform the economy, and when we assess our actions in the political sphere, we should fully bear in mind European criteria and norms.

From the point of view of consolidating our international position, relations between the Slovak Republic and our immediate neighbors on both the multilateral and bilateral level are of exceptional importance. We live in a geopolitical space that is particularly sensitive to changes in international relations as radical as those we are currently experiencing.

Slovakia and its neighbors need stability in Central Europe. It is in the national interest of every single country in this region, and, at the same time, it is in the common interest of our region. However, it would be a mistake not to see the Pan-European impact of the character of relations between the states of Central

Europe. Security and stability in this region are an important prerequisite for Pan-European security and stability.

These facts lend even greater emphasis to the importance of the recently signed Slovak-Hungarian Basic Treaty, which not only marks the beginning of a breakthrough in relations between our two countries but is also an important political act of European dimensions. The appropriateness of such an assessment is confirmed by the highly positive reactions from the member states of the European Union, the United States, and a whole string of other countries.

Of course, the treaty between Slovakia and Hungary cannot on its own solve all of the problems that have built up in our relations over the past centuries and decades. However, it lays the missing foundation upon which mutual trust can gradually be built and upon which all-around cooperation can be developed. Esteemed ladies and gentlemen! There is a close connection between the orientation of our foreign policy and the fundamental direction of the defense policy of the Slovak Republic. Our task is to complete the process of setting up modern and democratic armed forces, compatible with the NATO countries' armies.

In line with our status as a Western European Union [WEU] associate member, we are looking for concrete opportunities to involve the Slovak Republic in the WEU's activities, such as its humanitarian, emergency, and peacekeeping operations. The transformation of our Army follows the adopted concept: Its first stage is to be completed by the end of 1995 and the complete process by the year 2000. The transformation should result in an army not large in numbers, but one that is action-capable, flexible, and able to ensure the freedom, sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of the Slovak Republic.

As the Armed Forces' Supreme Commander, I have inspected several military units and staff exercises and have been able to see that the state of the Army of the Slovak Republic and of its command is good, and that existing problems are being gradually solved. In particular, I am pleased that the Army enjoys the trust of our citizens, who hold it in high regard. The positive assessment of our Army by foreign military experts is also encouraging; moreover, they appreciate the fact that it is not being politicized. [passage omitted]

The privatization process, which constitutes an organic part of economic transformation, aims at changing the ownership structure of considerable state property.

I consider it very dangerous for the further development of our society that privatization uses methods that

enable a relatively narrow group of people to acquire a disproportionately large part of this property, not on the strength of their own financial means but for the profits of the privatized enterprises. On the other hand, the greater part of society is completely eliminated from sharing this property. Credit certificates to the tune of tens of thousands [currency not specified], issued in the way of damages, do not constitute adequate compensation for this kind of elimination.

I am afraid that, through this kind of uneven division of the former state property, we are laying foundations of great social differences in Slovak society and creating a source of future social conflicts that are not necessarily too distant. [passage omitted]

Recently, we have come to realize that appealing to politicians' responsibility is not an effective approach. Politicians themselves have created an atmosphere dominated by power struggle and political interests. In this context, it has often been pointed out that there is no unity in Slovak society when it comes to essential values, and that the political interests polarize the situation. This state of affairs cannot be overcome by any new political initiative. Only the intelligentsia could probably bring about some systematic changes. [passage omitted]

Esteemed deputies! At this historical moment, the aspect that has to be highlighted in the realm of the state and political interests of Slovakia is the need to continue the social reforms launched after November 1989. [passage omitted]

The state administration has been coming up with initiatives reflecting this ambition. However, because they are linked to only one pillar of the state power, they cannot be sufficiently independent of party politics. Should there be a different government after the elections, the continuity of such activities cannot be guaranteed. The weakest point of this approach is that it is guaranteed by only one political group and, as such, does not address all social and political strata and does not overcome current political rivalry. [passage omitted]

Today, I can only outline some basic ideas for the vision of modernization. First of all, it should tackle the issue of stabilizing the domestic political situation and overcoming political polarity in our society. I am convinced that this is possible. I am trying to introduce the idea of civic and political reconciliation to the whole of our society, and also to its political representation. [passage omitted]

The vision of the civic society and a modern state will be implemented faster and more successfully if more political parties and civic societies accept decentraliza-

tion of power as a permanent issue in their programs. [passage omitted]

The basic trend of democratization is to aim for self-government. It introduces more stability into public life and should be firmly embedded in the building of a modern democratic state. [passage omitted]

This self-government puts the functioning of the state as a whole on the best possible footing.

Esteemed deputies! What Slovakia needs most of all at the present time is an atmosphere free of confrontation. My report, which notes, apart from the positive trends in our society's development, the problems that have not been addressed does not seek to generate an atmosphere of confrontation.

On the contrary, we have to objectively identify these problems and mobilize human efforts so that they can be gradually dealt with.

My actions are guided by the belief that there is enough goodwill in this country to deal with these problems. If, despite all current difficulties, we succeed in consolidating our constitutional system and in maintaining a dialogue between the power structures and the population, civic associations, and initiatives, we should not be worried that we will not be able to cope with the conflicts that accompany development or that we should abandon the orientation at implementing fundamental social changes that will take us to the community of democratic countries.

It is in the name of these expectations, which are evident both at home and abroad, that I turn to you, deputies of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, to all the officials of political parties and movements, to representatives of state power, to those employed in the state administration, and to all citizens of the Slovak Republic. Do help sustain the climate our country experienced during the Holy Father's visit.

Let us be truthful with each other, but let us at the same time maintain an approach of consideration and accommodating attitude to each other.

Let us not repeat the mistakes of the past, and let us avoid evil. Decency, respect, and courtesy cannot be to anyone's detriment, but can speed up our progress toward the most important aims we have.

I would like to believe that these aims are, on the whole, identical despite the diversity of views.

I would like to assure you that I, too, will not relax my efforts aimed at bringing ethical values into our life, at consolidating constitutionality and democracy, and

at introducing a matter-of-fact dialogue in the place of confrontational politics.

Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Deputies Comment on Address

*LD0609220095 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 6 Sep 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Several deputies of the Slovak parliament commented on the state-of-the nation address presented by Slovak President Michal Kovac today.

Augustin Marian Huska, deputy parliament speaker and member of parliament [MP] for the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia-the Farmers' Party of Slovakia [ZDS-RSS], told the Slovak news agency TASR that he was disappointed by the address. In his view, the speech contained well-known facts, especially those on improving the economy and qualitative changes brought about by transformation.

Jan Luptak, deputy parliament speaker and MP for the Association of Workers in Slovakia [ZRS], said his view of the state of the nation was different from that of the president. Luptak was surprised by the part of the address that dealt with political confrontation because, in his opinion, the head of state took part in these confrontations.

Tibor Cabaj, chairman of the HZDS deputies' club, expressed his view by saying that the situation in the country was described by the president in a biased fashion.

Eva Rusnakova, chairwoman of the deputies' club of the Democratic Union of Slovakia [DU], described the address as accurate, while Jan Carnogursky, chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], said the speech was constructive because the president had pointed to the social problems while indicating possible solutions.

According to the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL], Michal Kovac's address factually analyzed the whole of the social situation. Brigita Schmoegnerova, SDL deputy chairwoman, said that the positive point was that the address had pointed out the negative features while suggesting ways of improvement.

Jaroslav Volf, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Slovakia [SDSS], said that the state-of-the-nation address was, in his view, an appeal for tolerance that promoted social interests over political ones. Volf voiced the opinion that the address ought to have inspired the ruling coalition to changes in their privatization policies.

In a statement given to TASR, Pavel Delinga, RSS chairman, said that Michal Kovac's address puts every

member of the Slovak democratic system, apart from the president and his office, in a bad light. According to Delinga, the address does not mention such important issues as agriculture and nutrition for the nation.

Meciar Explains Absence

*LD0609212895 Bratislava VTV Television in Slovak
1800 GMT 6 Sep 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Let me present you with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's explanation for his absence in the Slovak parliament today, where Slovak President Michal Kovac delivered his state-of-the-nation address:

I think parliamentary democracy requires of all political bodies certain ways of behavior. It does not require me to sit in parliament listening to what the president has to say, but it does require the president to ask the government for information. It also requires the president to cooperate with the government and to inform the Slovak parliament deputies about the nature of the speech he plans to present, without differentiating them according to their political color and consulting on fundamental speeches with only some.

Prime Minister Meciar made this statement at an improvised news conference in Nalepkovo, in east Slovakia, today.

Meciar Absence Deliberate Snub

*LD0609125295 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1050 GMT 6 Sep 95*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and Deputy Prime Minister Jozef Kalman are on a one-day official visit to eastern Slovakia, in the town of Nalepkovo, the Spisska Nova Ves district. Our correspondent Pavol Sveton reports: [passage omitted]

Journalists asked Meciar why was he not in parliament where the president was delivering his state of the nation speech today because Meciar's presence would certainly help to calm public opinion.

The prime minister said: I think the parliamentary and democratic system requires that all subjects follow the same model of behavior. Not only that I should sit in parliament and listen to the president but also that the president should ask the government for background material for the speech, should cooperate with the government, should inform parliament that he wants to speak, and should not treat us differently because of our party affiliation—that is, that he would consult us and not others about the guidelines for his speech.

If the president was impartial and above all party affiliation, it would be good manners at least to show his

respect for the government by asking: Prime Minister, can you provide us with some material? If he does not need us to prepare the speech, he does not need us to listen to it either.

SIS Reportedly Tasked To Shadow Kovac Family

AU0609134195 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA
in Slovak 2 Sep 95 pp 1-2

[Roundup of correspondents' reports: "Slovaks Abducted President's Son to Austrian Prison"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava/Hainburg/Vienna —[Passage omitted] We have managed to find out from well-informed circles that the State Defense Council, which is chaired by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, recently approved a new strategic orientation of the Slovak Information Service [SIS]. Following the appointment of Ivan Lexa as SIS director, the SIS's sphere of jurisdiction comprises also the protection of constitutional officials. [passage omitted] The change in strategic orientation authorizes SIS staffers—and, at the same time, assigns to them the task—to also carry out the agency surveillance of politicians and their family members.

This means, for example, legal telephone tapping and the monitoring of contacts with other persons.... In professional services of a similar type, information acquired in this way is really used for the protection of politicians, while in those services that allowed themselves to be politicized, under various pressures, this information can also be used to compromise them. Other credible sources have confirmed that a few SIS staffers refused to participate in such activity, directed also against the president of the Republic and members of his family.

If the SIS wants to implement its new strategic orientation, in the case of the Slovak president's son it failed to do so. It did not notice that he was being shadowed (it is highly improbable that the abduction was carried out without preparation). One of the issues discussed in Slovak political circles yesterday were possible links between former StB [communist-era secret service] staffers who had been working also in the services of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia before the elections, as members of various security agencies, and their present representation in the SIS leadership. According to some observers, this would mean that the SIS possibly knew about the operation [abduction of President Michal Kovac's son]. [passage omitted]

President Meets With Opposition

AU0609173695

[FBIS Editorial Report] Bratislava SME and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 5 September both carry reports on meetings between President Michal Kovac and representatives of the main opposition parties—the Party of the Democratic Left, the Democratic Union (DU), and the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH)—in the wake of the kidnapping of the president's son, Michal Kovac Jr., and his detention in Vienna. According to SME, the meetings took place "at the request" of the opposition parties.

In its 600-word report by "(sp)," carried on page 2 under the headline "The Opposition Will Initiate the Establishment of an Investigative Commission To Clarify the Kidnapping of Michal Kovac Jr.," SME says the reason for the meetings was to gain more details on the kidnapping. It quotes DU Deputy Chairman Ludovit Cernak: "We were very surprised when we heard only what we already know from the media. So far, the president has not been informed of how the investigation into the kidnapping is proceeding." He explained that they will initiate the establishment of an investigative commission "on the basis of an agreement among the political partners present." In connection with the establishment of an investigative commission, the daily says that, in the opinion of DU Deputy Chairman Milan Knazko, "it should be made up of representatives of all of the parliamentary entities." According to Knazko, "because there are signs that this is a politically motivated incident, it is again necessary to place on the agenda the issue of the Special Supervisory Body (OKO) set up to supervise the activity of the Slovak Information Service (SIS)." The daily also reports on the comments made by another DU deputy chairman, Jan Budaj. It quotes him as saying that "during the parliamentary recess, several distinct qualitative changes took place that alter the current political situation." According to him, "the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) was unable to respond to the opposition's rallies aimed at alleviating the confrontation against the head of state and at observing the Constitution. On the other hand, the HZDS meeting on 1 September was a flop. The governing movement's response came in a different form. This was the across-the-board campaign against citizens who had exercised their right of petition. Another campaign of a similar kind was the search of the bishopric in Banska Bystrica and, finally, the kidnapping of the Slovak president's son. Following the hot summer, Slovakia is—imperceptively—dealing with a new situation in September. Overstepping the law has become a part of political life. Such a political trend

may also end very badly for the people or groups that constitute current power."

In its 600-word report by "(ns)," carried on pages 1 and 2 under the headline "Criticism of the Prime Minister, the Minister, and SIS," PRAVDA writes about the meeting between President Kovac and KDH representatives. The daily quotes the following remarks made by KDH Chairman Jan Carnogursky: "We came to the president to express human solidarity and, at the same time, our indignation at the kidnapping of his son. I would like to warn the kidnappers that this is a crime for which there is a prison term of five to 10 years. Such a crime becomes statute-barred in about 10 years. If the KDH were to come to power within this period, it would initiate energetic steps to ensure that they are tried." In the opinion of Jan Carnogursky, the course of action of the prime minister, who has claimed the right to decide on the extradition of Michal Kovac Jr. from Austria, is "a violation of the law." According to him, the decision was within the jurisdiction of the Foreign Ministry, and "Minister Juraj Schenk cannot rid himself of the responsibility in such a fashion." PRAVDA reports that Carnogursky has information "from sources he cannot identify" that the SIS "has obtained certain powers by illegal means to make a 'finding' that is not based on the law." The KDH chairman also expressed his "surprise" that the police are seeking witnesses to the kidnapping through the media. In his view, they should ask "SIS Director Ivan Lexa and Counterintelligence Director Jaroslav Svehota" for information.

Daily Analyzes Kidnapping

AU0609163595 Bratislava SME in Slovak 5 Sep 95
p 5

[Commentary by Robert Kotian: "Why Is the Slovak Government Silent So Far?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The kidnapping and transportation of the Slovak president's son, Michal Kovac Jr., across the Austrian border and his imprisonment in Vienna is a case that, since the evening of 31 August, has, to a various degree, been occupying not only the attention of the public but also the state bodies more or less involved. While the police, according to the spokesman for the Police Corps Presidium, D. Ivan, are working on the case and cooperating with the Foreign Ministry and the Slovak Information Service, according to Slovak Government spokesman T. Hasala, "the prime minister has decided that he will inform the public himself of his point of view on the whole issue. But he has decided that he will do so on the Pressclub program and that the entire matter will also be discussed in the government."

Just as the public and the political spectrum are divided on many issues of political and nonpolitical life, they are also beginning to differ on the issue of the kidnapping of the president's son, emphasizing either the doubts surrounding the business activities of Michal Kovac Jr. that ended with the German side issuing an arrest warrant against him (whether as a witness or the accused, because the original allegations spoke about both possibilities, although the most recent report in our daily is also inclined toward his position as a suspect) or the unprecedented nature of the terrorist act by which his kidnappers made their presence known.

If we review all of the facts and information available, it seems likely that the president's son was supposed to have been at least interviewed in connection with the fraud case against the Technopol company, after which the normal investigative process should have followed. This, however, can in no way justify the brutality of the terrorist act and the hesitancy of government officials. Let us recall, for example, how promptly V. Meciar reacted following the explosion under the car belonging to his party colleague Deputy Arpad Matejka. That is, the stance adopted by the prime minister and some governing coalition deputies testifies indirectly—at least—to their noncondemnation of this terrorist act, which fits in with the scenario of the present government's antipresidential campaign. Moreover, if the prime minister reserves the right to inform the public on the Pressclub television program, and this almost five days after the event (which merely confirms the previous doubts about his real will to condemn any kind of violence perpetrated against Slovak citizens, as demonstrated in the case of the skinhead attack in Ziar nad Hronom), it simply strews questions among citizens about whether something else is concealed behind his dilatoriness. To say the least, it creates the feeling that this terrorist attack matches the hand of cards he has revealed against the president more than once, most recently in his theories about merging the office of prime minister and president "U.S. style."

If, however, the qualified Slovak bodies, beginning with the police units and ending with the prime minister, do not exert the maximum effort to find the culprits, no Slovak citizen, being the potential victim of violence, will be able to sleep in peace.

Hungarian Party Backs Kovac's Remaining in Post

LD0509152995 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1300 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Michal Kovac received in Bratislava today a delegation of the Coexistence movement led by Coexistence Chairman Miklos Duray. The reception took place at Coexistence request.

The delegation briefed the president about its standpoint on the state language bill, which, in their view, contradicts international conventions and the Basic Treaty between the Slovak and Hungarian Republics.

The president was also briefed about the beginning of the new school year in schools where teaching is done in the Hungarian language.

The Coexistence delegation supported Michal Kovac in his resolve not to step down from the post of head of state.

Koruna Revalued Against Clearing ECU

AU0609165995 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
5 Sep 95 p 1

[TASR report: "Revaluation of the Slovak Koruna"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Effective today, the National Bank of Slovakia [NBS] has decided to revalue

the Slovak koruna against the clearing ECU by 1 percent. Thus, the value of the clearing ECU has been placed on a par with the ECU. The NBS's decision takes into consideration the development of the balance in the clearing account with the Czech Republic and also the development of the Slovak Republic's foreign trade balance and its balance of payments. At the same time, in accordance with the transition to the convertibility of the Slovak currency, the duality of exchange-rate policy in the balance of payments' current account has been eradicated.

Government Regrets French Nuclear Test

LD0609170295 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 6 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Hungary has also received the news about the resumption of nuclear explosions by France with regret, but it hopes that similar tests will come to an end soon.

The Foreign Ministry's official statement stresses that Budapest supports the Nonproliferation Treaty, which bans the spread of nuclear weapons, and a complete moratorium on nuclear tests. Thus, it hopes that talks on an international agreement banning all nuclear tests will succeed as soon as possible.

UDMR Head: OSCE Statement 'Unambiguous'

LD0209132695 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 2 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Announcer] On the basis of news agency reports, we reported in the Morning Chronicle today that the OSCE high commissioner for ethnic minorities [Max van der Stoel] is allegedly satisfied with the Romanian education law. The chairman [Bela Marko] of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] denies this in an interview with Tibor Bogdan.

[Bogdan] UDMR Chairman Bela Marko gave an interview today to the Hungarian Radio's correspondent to clear up misunderstandings.

Interpretations contrary to the real content of Max van der Stoel's written declaration on the education law issued yesterday have already been published. For example, Kossuth Radio's news program this morning cited an MTI report that made the impression that the high commissioner was satisfied with the chapter on minority education. Regarding this, Bela Marko said the following:

[Begin Marko recording] On the contrary, Max van der Stoel expresses his unambiguous criticism when he calls for a clear change in two very important issues. In his declaration he calls attention to the necessity of including socioeconomic subjects among those taught at the universities in the mother tongue and that of allowing vocational training to be provided in the mother tongue. He clearly says that international standards do not give guidelines in everything. However, the needs of the minority have to be taken into consideration as regards mother tongue education.

Max van der Stoel airs his doubts over the application of other passages too. All in all, his diplomatic but clear-cut criticism vindicates our dissatisfaction. It is important for us to know this in advance of our protest

rally in Odorheiu Secuiesc [Szekelyudvarhely] today. [end recording]

Finance Minister: Growth, Balance Can Coexist

AU0609230795 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 4 Sep 95 p 11

[Interview with Finance Minister Lajos Bokros by Laszlo Gergely in Eger; date not given: "Balance and Growth Do Not Exclude Each Other—Lajos Bokros on Schools, Inflation, and Government Expansion"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Gergely] How much deeper will next year's tax policy, which we are not yet very familiar with, reach into our pockets?

[Bokros] The tax tables that are being formed at the moment are not secret: They will come before Parliament, which will then decide on them. Parliament will make its decision based on how much the taxes will affect the population's certain groups. It will look at how the various tax tables will affect the various strata of taxpayers and that a certain amount of taxes will have to be collected. The latter cannot be a subject of debate because the Army, the police, and the governmental administration, among others, will have to be financed from this money. The 1995 budget numbers have more or less been formed: We need some 480 billion forints [Ft] in income from personal taxes to be able to finance the tasks laid down by law. According to the Finance Ministry's tax table, all in all, the tax burdens of people living on wages and salaries will not increase, but the tax of entrepreneurs will: This is a kind of shifting of burdens through abolishing the 0-rate tax band. We invented a tax allowance system that the newspapers have forgotten to mention and have only written about higher taxes on people with low income. However, the opposite of this is true: We will use overcompensation, because people in the first two income brackets can calculate with Ft30,000-36,000 allowance, to reduce the effects of inflation in their case. Degressive taxation of course means that people with high incomes will also pay 20 percent on Ft110,000, but they will not receive any compensation. This proposal is mainly aimed at the entrepreneurs, because their income returns amounted to an average Ft118,000 last year, which means that they paid one-seventh of the tax paid by those living on wages and salaries. [passage omitted]

[Gergely] The company and business sphere are the main domestic users of loans from the international money market. How can this be seen? Can the Hungarian economy become dynamic?

[Bokros] The economy's company structure, and the export structure within this, has been drastically altered

in recent years. While in the past, large state companies exported mostly to markets of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, now, after the first four to five years of privatization and significant foreign working capital inflow, we can see that almost 50 percent of the exports are by big multinational companies through which we manage to become part of the western world's economic division of labor. This is a welcome fact from the viewpoint of economic growth because we have not only had a quantitative growth. This is the reason it is important for the investment inclinations not to decrease. And this is the reason why the privatization of the energy supplying companies is very important. The foreign capital investment in the MATAV [Hungarian Telecommunications Enterprise] three years ago has resulted in the fact that the country's number of telephones per household, including mobile telephones, is among the highest in Europe. [passage omitted]

[Gergely] Some criticisms say that either the conditions of lasting growth do not exist or it does not have goals attached to it. It would be good to see what kind of forecasts the Finance Ministry has.

[Bokros] We can already tell what level of economic growth can be achieved in three years if the current, balance-preserving economic policy is continued unhindered. The essence is an incredibly big breakthrough: In the past, for at least 25 years, the country either had economic growth or financial balance, but never the two together. In other words, we had a bad economic rotation system: We had three years of growth with foreign loans, overspending in the budget, and deficit financing. After three years, it became obvious that the artificially created boom caused an indebtedness which was impossible to finance, so pulling in the breaks and recession followed. Then things became dynamic again, let us remember the party congress 10 years ago.... Balance and growth do not necessarily have to oppose each other: We are now trying to create an economic policy combination in which the restoration of balance does not necessarily destroy the bases of economic growth.

Opposition Parties Set Up Coordination Committee
AU0509104195 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET
in Hungarian 2 Sep 95 pp 1, 5

[Unattributed report: "Closer Tripartite Cooperation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to our information, a three party coordination committee was set up on 31 August between the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ-MPP], and the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]. Ivan Szabo, head of the MDF group in parliament and

executive chairman, and Deputy Chairman Peter Boross represent the MDF; Janos Ader and Jozsef Szajer represent the FIDESZ; and Tibor Fuzessy represents the KDNP.

The committee will begin its activity in the near future and will work out the possibilities of cooperation. We learned that the FIDESZ presidium had already discussed the need to strengthen cooperation among the aforementioned parties and commissioned FIDESZ Chairman Viktor Orban to take steps in this direction.

The creation of this coordination committee is the continuation of the cooperation prevailing among the parties: work contacts had been established previously between the parliamentary groups, experts, and professional boards.

The crisis in the coalition made it obvious that the opposition parties should increase their cooperation, because an alternative must be given to the current government. Therefore, the heads of the MDF, KDNP, and FIDESZ decided to set up a coordination committee, Jozsef Szajer told us. Jozsef Szajer told us that the heads of the three parties' parliamentary groups have been regularly coordinating their steps once a week, and a technical element has now been added to this tripartite cooperation. The future common stand of these parties will thus have a more organized form.

MPDT Splits; New Association Established
AU0609110695 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG
in Hungarian 5 Sep 95 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Association of Hungarian National Democrats Founded—Taking Separate Roads"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Political scientist Bela Pokol sent the following statement to us on 4 September:

"We announce that, because of the different tasks that emerged within the Association of Hungarian Civic Democrats [MPDT], the association is splitting into two. Together with other figures to be named later, journalist Istvan Lovas, Tamas Molnar, Gyorgy Domokos Varga, as well as university professor Bela Pokol set up the Association of Hungarian National Democrats [MNDT].

"The main goal of the MNDT is to create unity among the intelligentsia behind the nationally committed political parties and mediation among the opposition parties.

"For this, distancing itself from extremism, the MNDT is striving to strengthen the Hungarian national culture and to create a system of politically balanced mass media by making use of all the possible means within the framework of a constitutional state."

Akashi: Strikes To Continue Despite Criticism*AU0709082995 Paris AFP in English
0806 GMT 7 Sep 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Sept 7 (AFP)—The United Nations and the NATO are ready to step up their air strikes against the Bosnian Serbs despite criticism of their policy from Moscow, UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi said here Thursday. In Sarajevo, a UN spokesman said NATO planes struck five targets near the Bosnian Serb stronghold of Pale, east of Sarajevo, Thursday.

Akashi said the UN was trying to organise a meeting between the UN commander for Bosnia General Rupert Smith and the Bosnian Serb military chief General Ratko Mladic, who is viewed as the main stumbling block to an agreement. "We envisage continuing NATO action," Akashi said, noting that so far the raids had not persuaded Bosnian Serbs to bow to pressure to withdraw all their heavy weapons from round Sarajevo. "We have not seen in the last 24 hours much policy change on the part of the Bosnian Serbs.... We have been waiting for it, but as of now, General Mladic's position seems to be prevailing," Akashi said.

Mladic has refused to pull back the big guns while the raids go on, saying they are needed to protect Serb civilians. He has also argued that the raids have destroyed vital communications equipment, thereby impeding a speedy pullout.

Asked if NATO raids could be intensified if the Serbs refused to give in, Akashi said this was a possibility. "We may have to come to that if their position remains adamant and there are indications that the civilian leadership has agreed to the military's line which is that the security of the Serb civilians around Sarajevo and the difficulties created by communications systems and Bosnian attacks create impediments to the withdrawal of weapons," he said.

However Akashi added: "We think they are not entirely valid reasons and we are trying to arrange as early as possible a meeting between Gen. Mladic and Gen. Smith." Asked when this might take place, Akashi said there had so far been "no response" from the Serb side. "There has been no response and their communication system is very much damaged due to air strikes, but we are anxious to discuss concrete modalities of withdrawal by the Serbs," he said.

Questioned about Russia's growing criticism of the NATO air raids, Akashi said Russia "has taken a consistent position that the use of force particularly, use of air power...could have very hazardous consequences

on diplomatic negotiation.... We should be mindful of these concerns."

He said the United Nations was aware that there was a risk its forces might be dragged into the Bosnia conflict if NATO raids were stepped up. "We are conscious of that, we are deeply involved, we are committed to the peace but we don't intend to change our general posture of impartiality in the conflict," Akashi said.

NATO has warned the Serbs that air raids against their positions threatening Sarajevo will continue until all Serb heavy artillery pieces are withdrawn from the 20 kilometre (12 mile) exclusion zone the United Nations has proclaimed round the city.

Janvier: Duration of Air Strikes 'Up to Serbs'*AU0709115395 Paris AFP in English
1132 GMT 7 Sep 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Sept 8 (AFP)—The UN commander in the former Yugoslavia, General Bernard Janvier, said Thursday that it was "up to the Serbs" how long NATO raids continued against their positions around Sarajevo.

"How long it lasts is up to the Serbs," he told a press briefing in Zagreb. Janvier said the NATO position was that the raids would continue until the Bosnian Serbs complied with demands for a total removal of heavy artillery beyond 20-kilometres (12 miles) from the Bosnian capital. He said NATO and UN were in total agreement about the need to pursue the raids.

Janvier refused to give a precise tally of targets destroyed since the strikes started last week. He said only that the big guns themselves were not the targets, except where they constituted a direct threat. He said that up to now NATO planes had concentrated on destroying communications networks, munitions depots, and maintenance workshops.

UN Officer Comments on Sarajevo Market Shelling*AU0709045695 Belgrade TELEGRAF
in Serbo-Croatian 6 Sep 95 p 5*

[Interview with Andrey Demurenko, chief of staff of UNPROFOR's Sarajevo Sector, by Dragana Subarevic; place and date not given: "NATO in a Falsified Mission in Bosnia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yes, I am Andrey Demurenko. Please, go ahead with your questions. The TELEGRAF correspondent found herself taken aback by the direct way in which the Russian colonel, chief of staff of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] in Sarajevo Sector, introduced himself. After two days of dialing telephone

numbers in New York, Zagreb, Sarajevo, and even Skopje, we started to lose hope of contacting this high-ranking UN officer who claims that the Serbs did not fire the shell that caused carnage at the Sarajevo market of Markale, the shell that was used as the motive for NATO air strikes on Serb positions.

[Subarevic] Could you tell us something more about your findings and proofs, which are different from the official UN reports?

[Demurenko] This is, unfortunately, impossible at present. I have received explicit orders from my senior officers not to give any statements after the interview that I gave to the ITAR-TASS correspondent in Zagreb.

[Subarevic] Do you think you could fall victim to a sniper or that your vehicle could "suddenly" catch fire?

[Demurenko] Some unknown persons have already threatened me several times; they called me on the telephone, but I am a soldier and this is a part of my life. I am not afraid.

[Subarevic] There are rumors that you could be arrested. Who do you think could do that?

[Demurenko] Probably those who do not share my opinion and do not agree with my conclusions, but I am not worried about all this. My problem is that I cannot give you any more precise explanation about my current position. Perhaps everything will be clarified in a few days.

[Subarevic] Do you know that you are not the only who has arrived at the conclusions that are different to the official UN conclusions on Serbs as the culprits for the slaughter? Several reports similar to yours have been sent to New York.

[Demurenko] I do not have any precise information on that, but I believe this is the case.

[Subarevic] What will happen if it turns out that you were right after all? In other words, what will happen if this turns out to be "Markale 1," when the Serbs were first accused and then the culprits were found on the Muslim side?

[Demurenko] I think that the decision on air strikes was made too quickly, and that it was made too quickly after the incident at the market. The investigation needed at least several days, perhaps even several weeks. It was impossible to make correct conclusions on who had fired the shell after only a few hours. The Serbs were erroneously accused of being the aggressor and the decision on air strikes against Serb positions was made hastily. I have material evidence that proves that the Serbs are not responsible for the carnage, but I cannot reveal it right now.

[Subarevic] Where is the material evidence?

[Demurenko] In a few days, perhaps as early as 10 September, you will be able to get it from the ITAR-TASS correspondent in Zagreb.

[Subarevic] What led to you to conduct an independent investigation? What made you, a high-ranking UN officer, not believe in the official reports and not to obey orders?

[Demurenko] It is correct that I have carried out an independent investigation. However, you must understand that my discipline is military discipline and that I cannot talk to you any longer. Thank you.

Presidency Instructs Delegation for Geneva Talks

AU0709110695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 7 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received the following report by BH PRESS:

The 295th session of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina was held last night with President Alija Izetbegovic in the chair. Discussed at the session was (the proposal) of the latest U.S. peace initiative, [word indistinct] of the latest conference of the two contact groups in Paris, and the three-sided ministerial conference in Geneva.

During the debate, in which all Presidency members took part, a platform for the talks was established and instructions given to the delegation of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina to the Geneva ministerial conference. The delegation will be headed by Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic.

A six-member delegation headed by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina was set up which will hold peace negotiations if they take place.

President Izetbegovic informed the Presidency about the talks he held in Ankara with Turkish President Suleyman Demirel, Prime Minister Tansu Ciller, and U.S. peace mediator Richard Holbrooke.

The Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina also discussed other issues within its jurisdiction.

Izetbegovic: Geneva Considered 'Positive Step'

MM0709125595 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 7 Sep 95 pp 1, 4

[Report on interview with President Alija Izetbegovic by Nur-al-Din Salih in Split; date not given: "Izetbegovic

Tells Paper: NATO Raids Indicate Serious Endeavor To Resolve Bosnian Crisis"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Split—Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic has told AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that NATO's resumption of air strikes against Serbian positions is an indication that the international community is serious about resolving to secure a solution to the Bosnian problem before winter.

President Izetbegovic believes that the first outcome of these operations will be to break the siege on Sarajevo and prevent the presence of heavy weapons around the other Bosnian cities of Tuzla, Gorazde, Bihac, and Mostar.

On whether he thought these operations would continue, he said that he is now certain that these strikes will not stop until it is ensured that heavy weapons around the protected areas have been withdrawn, and that, should they stop before the Serbian forces withdraw these weapons, the Bosnian Army will resume the fighting.

He added in his statement to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that the international community has now ascertained that the Serbs understand only the language of war. When NATO suspended military operations against Serbian positions and offered them the opportunity to withdraw their heavy weapons from the positions around the Bosnian cities, the Serbs refused to remove their weapons and instead continued to use them against civilians in the Bosnian cities.

On tomorrow's Geneva meeting between the foreign ministers of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia, Izetbegovic, who was talking to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT at the Croatian airport of Split on his return from Ankara, said that "Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic will attend this meeting. Although we do not expect anything revolutionary to emerge from this meeting, we consider it a positive step, if the Yugoslav minister has in his briefcase the agreement on the peace plan." On his talks with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, he said: "Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia are moving within a joint plan to reach a solution to the problem in the region. Therefore, these meetings always take into account developments within the context of our joint plan. We face a common enemy, and there are military and economic agreements of proven effectiveness between the two countries. This meeting discussed the new U.S. proposal and next Friday's Geneva meeting." Asked whether the new U.S. proposal gives the Bosnian Serbs the right to a confederation with Serbia, he said: "There is no such thing in the new U.S. proposal. However, after we reach peace and Serbia recognizes Bosnia-Herzegovina within its accepted borders, it will be possible to have firm relations (bilateral, economic, etc...)

between the Bosnian Serbs and present-day Yugoslavia. This however does not mean a confederation."

Silajdzic: Balance of Power Must Be Reestablished
BR0609142095 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian
6 Sep 95 p 5

[Interview with Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by unidentified correspondent in Sarajevo on 5 September: "The Right Lesson for Our Enemies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The phone rang as I entered the office of Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic: NATO planes had just scored a direct hit on the radio control tower on Majevic, the mountain above Tuzla, which handled communications between the headquarters of the Serbs in Pale, Serbia, and the western part of Bosnia, which is in Serb hands. The Bosnian Army, deprived of arms by the West, suffered thousands of deaths in the repeated attempt to take that control tower. [casualty figure as published]*

[LA REPUBBLICA] Is this an indication that NATO is in earnest this time?

[Silajdzic] I do not think that NATO can allow itself to be trapped yet again by the tricks played by the Serbian terrorists, who are repeating exactly the same games that they played a year and a half ago. It should have realized that the Serbs listen to no other language than force. I am not the one who makes decisions for NATO, nor do I know precisely what its intentions are, but I expect the bombings to continue until the Serbs comply with the conditions requested of them.

[LA REPUBBLICA] Let us suppose that the Serbs give way and withdraw their weapons from Sarajevo. What will the next step be?

[Silajdzic] For the Serbs, this is the first time that they have been taught that, contrary to the way things have gone to date, they no longer have the sole monopoly on force. This will be of great help to the negotiating process.

[LA REPUBBLICA] A general in the Bosnian Army told me that, in terms of the type of peace to be achieved, it would have been different if the Serbs had been defeated by the Bosnian Army, and that only a conclusive defeat, like the one suffered by Hitler in World War II, can pave the way for true peace. What is your view?

[Silajdzic] The Serbian terrorists conquered Bosnian territory because they were part of the former Yugoslav Army, and they had the means. The main thing is to reestablish a balance of power. This could have been done in two ways: either by allowing us to have the

requisite weapons or by intervention on the part of the international community. Both are possible, but only if NATO is determined to go the whole way. Backing out at this stage would be catastrophic for the peace process. What is more, any half measures are used by the Serbs to their own advantage. Look what has happened with the suspension of the blitz. The Serbs have taken advantage of it to hide their heavy artillery in the woods and inhabited areas, moving their tanks from one place to another to deceive NATO reconnaissance. The Serbs will only come to the negotiating table if the balance of force is reestablished. There is a plan that has already been accepted by the Bosnian Government; the U.S. initiative has only made minor amendments to it, and in any case they do not affect Bosnia's sovereignty and territorial integrity. As we have always said, this is not negotiable.

[LA REPUBBLICA] So how do you see the future of Bosnia?

[Silajdzic] As a republic, a state in which there is an autonomous part that will not be admitted to central government until human rights are restored there, including the previous demographic balance, in other words the right of those who have been expelled to return to their own homes. Only then can the leaders of those areas be regarded as the legal representatives of the population.

Sacirbegovic 'Upbeat' About Geneva Meeting

AU0609150195 Paris AFP in English
1435 GMT 6 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Sept 6 (AFP)—Bosnia's Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic was upbeat Wednesday [6 September] about the chances of a breakthrough in exploratory peace talks due to be held in Geneva on Friday. Sacirbegovic made his remarks following a meeting Wednesday morning of the Bosnian negotiating team which will go to Geneva for a crucial meeting with the foreign ministers of Croatia and Serb-led rump Yugoslavia.

The ministers will consider proposals drawn up by U.S. envoy Richard Holbrooke, who has been at the forefront of American peace efforts to end the Bosnian conflict, engaging in an intensive round of shuttle diplomacy in recent weeks.

Sacirbegovic said the Bosnian side had been "flexible" in its negotiations on the document to be considered in Geneva, which is based on a peace plan drawn up by the so-called Contact Group comprising diplomats from Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and the United States. "Much of the work has been done on this document and I think (Holbrooke) will agree we have been flexible.

We are very interested in peace and we would like to be forthcoming on this initiative," he said.

Sacirbegovic added that the document had been shuttling back and forth between Sarajevo and Belgrade where the Serb side, led by Serbia's President Slobodan Milosevic, has been making its input. "We have already achieved some progress (on this document). I am convinced that Holbrooke will be able to convince the Bosnian side, but most importantly, the Serb side that cooperation is in everyone's interests," the Bosnian foreign minister said.

Last week, Belgrade assumed the negotiating role on behalf of Milosevic's proteges, the Serbs in Bosnia led by Radovan Karadzic, something Holbrooke described as a "major breakthrough." He has held several key meetings with Milosevic in recent days.

At the heart of the Holbrooke document, Sacirbegovic said, was the original Contact Group plan dividing Bosnia roughly equally in two between the Bosnian Serbs and the Moslem-Croat Federation. The Bosnian Serbs currently control some 70 percent of the country.

It also spoke of a "provisional arrangement" whereby Bosnia's territorial integrity and sovereignty was retained with the Bosnian Serb entity being "an administrative part of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina," Sacirbegovic said.

Previews Discussions in Geneva

AU0609201495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 6 Sep 95

[Report on press conference by Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic by Senada Cumurovic in Sarajevo on 6 September—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Cumurovic] Two significant meetings are to be held over the next two days: Representatives of the West's and the Organization of Islamic Conference Contact Groups are to meet tomorrow, while on Friday, Bosnian, Croatian, and the so-called Yugoslavia's foreign ministers are to meet in Geneva. Minister Sacirbegovic, who will be accompanied by Hasan Muratovic and Vladislav Pogarcic, presented the stances agreed upon on the eve of the Geneva meeting.

[Sacirbegovic] It is understood that the Contact Group ratio of 51 percent to 49 percent is still valid and that changes can only result from an agreement between the two sides. Second, where constitutional issues are concerned, certain principles, primarily the principle that Bosnia-Herzegovina [words indistinct] within its international borders, support for its sovereignty [words indistinct] two elements which are the Federation and a so-called Serb entity.

Third, all joint institutions, now and in the future, will allow the reintegration of our country; and last, but by no means least, there will be a joint institution that will see to human rights, refugees and their right to return, and certain international issues, such as our cooperation with the War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague.

[Cumurovic] Most of the information was actually heard in answers to correspondents' questions; one of the questions was: Are you satisfied with NATO's activities so far?

Sacirbegovic, of course, sees as positive the continuation of NATO actions as the goals have not been achieved yet. The goals are the complete safety of Sarajevo residents, the removal of the heavy artillery, the opening of all roads, and not only the blue route, and the airport, of course. That still needs to be done. Asked which joint stances he was expecting to come out of tomorrow's meeting between the two Contact Groups, Sacirbegovic said that these would be principles that could lead to peace.

[Sacirbegovic] First, this certainly means an integral Bosnia-Herzegovina, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Second, it means that results of aggression and ethnic cleansing will not be (?accepted). Third, support for measures that support the implementation of the peace plan and support for new plans for the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Cumurovic] Sacirbegovic said that where the Serb side is concerned, we cannot at the moment have a very clear picture, because we have acceptance on paper, but in practice we have the opposite, rejection. As far as the new U.S. plan, which includes maps, is concerned, Sacirbegovic claims that there has been no talk about partition. As for Sarajevo....

[Sacirbegovic] We want an integral Sarajevo as the capital of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina; we shall insist on this.

[Cumurovic] Once the peace agreement is signed, NATO Secretary General Willy Claes is ready to support Bosnia-Herzegovina's membership in the Partnership for Peace program. He said so on Sunday in talks with Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic, who mentioned this at today's press conference. However, until that time, there are bound to be many more political talks and meetings on Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Presidency Member Rejects Talks on Partition

AU0709153295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 7 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency member Ivo Komsic today received (Eduard Liske),

coordinator of the EU Monitoring Mission in Sarajevo, and his associate (Josef Ardi).

The EU monitors were interested in the Presidency's views on the U.S. peace initiative and the problems connected with the implementation of the Federation.

Mr. Komsic stressed that the framework for future negotiations, if they take place, had been set out by the Presidency's president's 12 points. This means that negotiations will not be held in the direction of the partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but rather its reintegration. The integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina will not be endangered by the existence of the so-called Serb entity within it, but only if the entity were allowed to confederate with Serbia. It was also strongly emphasized that there would be no trading with territory and that a unified and open Sarajevo would be insisted upon.

SDP Calls For Details of U.S. Peace Initiative

AU0609203995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 6 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Social Democratic Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina [SDP] has requested an urgent convening of an expanded Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency session, which would also be attended by opposition party representatives. This was stated by SDP Vice President Gradmir Gojer at a press conference today.

The leading figures involved in the peace process have not disclosed a single detail of the constitutional arrangements, Gojer said, and added: Only a chosen few have the privilege of becoming acquainted with the elements of the peace plan; however, we are not any less responsible than people from the ruling parties. It is not irrelevant to us whether we will have a state and how it will be organized. We are not sure that the Contact Group plan is still topical; international mediators wish to redesign it in a way detrimental to the Bosniaks. Attempts at infiltrating political peace mediators, as is currently being done in the so-called Bosnian case, are a dangerous business for both Bosnia and the Bosniaks, the SDP vice president stated.

The SDP supports NATO's intervention but believes that it should be more intense, of greater scope, and involve more aircraft. NATO has demonstrated what it can do, but not how much it can do.

Serbs Preparing To Expel 2,000 From Banja Luka

AU0509143095 Paris AFP in English 1401 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Sept 5 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs have rounded up some 2,000 Moslem and Croat residents of Banja Luka at a football field in

order to expel them to Croatia, the United Nations said here Tuesday [5 September].

The United Nations accused the Serbs of having forced the men in the group to do hard labor in mines and on front lines and condemned "in the strongest terms this inhumane treatment inflicted on minorities."

Banja Luka, in northern Bosnia-Herzegovina, is the largest city under Bosnian Serb control and has seen an influx of Croatian Serbs fleeing the recapture last month of the breakaway Krajina region.

Since August 15, a total of 17,582 refugees have arrived in Croatia from Banja Luka, according to the Croatian Government Refugee Office.

Another 11,000 refugees are expected to cross the Sava, the border river between Croatia and Bosnia, by ferry at Davor, 150 kilometers (90 miles) east of Zagreb.

The new arrivals who are Moslem are sheltered in refugee or transit camps, while the Croats are sent, against their will, to repopulate territories recaptured by Zagreb in its August offensive in Krajina and western Bosnia.

Croats Settling in Glamoc

LD0509203295 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A group of 250 Croats expelled from the Banja Luka area arrived in Glamoc this afternoon. The refugees will be accommodated in a reception center, but will later be given the choice of moving into apartments in the town of Glamoc or in private houses in the surrounding villages. This is the third group of Croat refugees to arrive in Glamoc. According to the government's office in Glamoc, all refugees settled in this liberated town are satisfied with their accommodation and are hoping to be given jobs in one of the three Glamoc factories that have survived undamaged.

Those who lived on farms will be given homesteads in villages in the Glamoc area so that they can continue to do the same kind of job. There is still room in Glamoc to settle more Croat refugees.

Herzeg-Bosnia Minister on HVO, Relations

95BA0319B Zagreb HRVATSKI OBZOR
in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jul 95 pp 17-18

[Interview with Mr. Vladimir Solic, deputy prime minister and defense minister of the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, by Jozo Curic; place and date not given:

"Following Present-Day Models To Arrive at a Professional Army"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Curic] What is your comment on the behavior of the international community in eastern Bosnia?

[Solic] There are five or six different sets of positions; one cannot speak about a unified international community. The world community has actually demonstrated the diversity of its interests, its powerlessness, its indecisiveness, and often its cynicism, irresponsibility, and immaturity in the case of Srebrenica, as it has in the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a whole. What would happen to the world if the adversary were some serious world power, not the Serbs? The world community would have to decide to stand in the way of the petty barbarians.

[Curic] Could something similar happen with other towns, with Bihac, for example?

[Solic] In both location and size, Bihac is different and in a different situation from Srebrenica. It involves stronger interests of the Croats in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Serbs, and the Muslims. There is a greater interest in Bihac than in Srebrenica or Zepa. My position is that the Serbs could not behave toward Bihac as they have toward Srebrenica and Zepa. The Croatian state and the Croatian corpus in Bosnia-Herzegovina would have to react appropriately.

[Curic] In that connection, what is the situation on Dinara and on the Livno battlefield?

[Solic] I think that we, represented by the HVO [Croatian Defense Council], have shown a high degree of organization, equipment, and strength since the reorganization, so that now the HVO is a quite solid army in both its organization and its armament, as well as in its morale. Since the reorganization, we have simply emerged from every battle with the Serbs as victors. I am referring here to the Sava Valley, and in particular the Kupres, Livno, Glamoc, and Grahovo battlefields. I think that we are now equal to the Serbs in this region, but we are not stronger. Especially when we join the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina in operations, we are undoubtedly dominant in this region.

[Curic] How long will the people of Livno put up with the frequent shooting in Livno?

[Solic] There will be an operation to bring the Serbs to their senses, and they can be brought to their senses only if they are removed or Croatian positions are created for hitting their targets of the same kind. Accordingly, we are not in favor of hitting civilian targets; that is savagery, barbarism, but we must be in a position to

respond to any attack in kind. Our goal will be to take up positions from which we can hit targets of the same kind, depending on what kind of response the Serbs ask for.

[Curic] Do you expect a big war in Bosnia in the fall?

[Solic] It is possible. I personally believe that the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina can be resolved in two ways. For the international community to send the Serbs back where they belong, and that means that they would get the territory called for by the international plan, but they would not hold what they have taken, that is out of the question. I think that the Serbs will not voluntarily return a single foot of land and that contrary to everything one would like, the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina will nevertheless be ended by military action. Unfortunately, a situation could be created here where everything would be resolved on the battlefield, and it will be interesting to see how the important world factors treat the aggressor.

[Curic] What is the Croatian position toward removal of the arms embargo and withdrawal of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces]?

[Solic] It is no secret at all that the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia [HR HB] have not been conducting a sufficiently independent policy, but have nevertheless been in concert with the Croatian leadership. Thus, again, on this issue we are, in principle, against removal of the embargo. We say that imposing the embargo was not a moral or human act, but we think that importing arms is not the way. The Serbs should be brought to their senses and prevented in other ways from completing their aggression, and the extreme measure that I would take would be removal of the embargo. That would really be the last thing.

[Curic] Are the HVO and the HR HB ready for every possible development of the situation in Bosnia?

[Solic] I have never had illusions, especially after Slobodan Milosevic's speech on Gazimestan. I have been fully aware that war would come, I saw that the Serbs were determined to achieve their program of an expanded Serbia by every means, including war. Although the Serbs placed us in an unfavorable situation, we began to prepare and quickly consolidated, and I think that we will be able to respond to any situation. We have already reorganized in that direction. We have plans ready to liberate every Croatian area.

[Curic] What is the situation in the Orasje-Samac theater?

[Solic] At this point, this is the theater that is most neglected by the media, although as a people and as an army we have won one of our biggest victories there. Few people believed that we could resist such large Serbian attacks in such a small space. The Serbs themselves called the operation "Revenge 95"; they had in mind revenge for western Slavonia, but, at the same time, our people here, especially in the Sava Valley, were given to believe that the Sava Valley was sold off, that it was a question of a trade.... Operation Posavina was one of the greatest successes of the HVO from the tactical, military, and political standpoint. That was a victory of the morale of the Croatian fighter, the Croatian people, because, in truth, the fight was numerically so unequal that even I did not understand how the Croats in that small space could put up such strong resistance. Even the civilian population did not flee. You can imagine the situation when there is no bridge, and in such a large attack it was realistic to expect that the people would begin to flee in large numbers, but neither the Army nor the people budged a foot.

[Curic] Comment on the Sarajevo operation. There were statements to the effect that the Croats did not take part in it!

[Solic] On the eve of the Sarajevo operation, consistent with political views, we worked out coordination, we had an agreement with the Muslim military leadership. It was not all as we might have wished; we were asking for a more precise definition of objectives and participation of both sides. Although that did not happen, I think that we had quite solid cooperation in "Operation Sarajevo." That operation did not yield important results at first glance, but I personally believe that the results are very great, because we showed the Serbs that we could carry out attacks of that size and commit such forces that they would not have enough people for other areas. That is our strength. I think that "Operation Sarajevo" should be developed in waves, the brunt of the attack should be changed from several directions, placing the Serbs in a position where they would have to remove the blockade from Sarajevo. I think in this connection that it is not a question here only of factors in this area, but forces from Serbia are also involved....

[Curic] Are the HVO and government at all aware of the objectives of the Rapid Reaction Forces (RRF)?

[Solic] There has been some progress, but they are not close to a satisfactory situation. We will be trying to obtain information, establish some form of communication. The HVO will not allow anyone to behave as a master in this region. We are not in a position to issue threats, but I hope that those forces have not come

to do anything bad, that they did not come to carve up territory, or decide destiny on the basis of equality, hegemony, or any principles that are not consistent with dignity and morality.

[Curic] Recently, and this is especially true of the Serbian media, there has been talk about a new conflict between the Croats and Muslims. What is the situation in the field?

[Solic] The Serbs are basing their policy on a conflict between the Croats and Muslims, because that is the only way they can be masters in this region. In 1994, they also had a program called "Schism 94." It was not achieved, because a new Croatian-Muslim conflict did not occur. That will never get beyond the desires of the Serbs, because that new conflict would not merely drive the Croats and Muslims to the edge of the precipice, it would cast them into the abyss. I think that all this time we have been showing that this is the right way, regardless of differences in our interests. This is the only way for us to send the aggressor back where he belongs, that is, to those areas where he constitutes a majority.

[Curic] Are incidents still taking place in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Solic] It is a bit strange that there are incidents where even in the period of the greatest conflicts they did not occur between Croats and Muslims, in Usora. Incidents in other areas have been reduced to a minimum, and this is one of the important tasks performed by the joint command, because at the outset it had the task of preventing incidents, of creating a climate of trust, of creating the future state, the future army.

[Curic] Why are the problems arising in Usora?

[Solic] Objectively speaking, the Croats in Usora, just like the Croats in other areas, were readier for defense than the Muslims. On the basis of their readiness, courage, and determination, they acquired certain rights that the previous system had kept from them. Now that a bit different time has come, some of the Muslim forces were not on the line of this basic policy of the federation, were not on the line of creating the federation, were attempting to deny the Croats those rights. The incidents are not large, but unfortunately they are quite frequent.

[Curic] To what relationship in the federation are you referring?

[Solic] We know from the bad experiences of the Croatian people in these parts that there is no community in which the equality of each nationality, including the Croatian nationality, has not been clearly established. There can be a federation only on the basis of complete equality of the partners, and there can be an army

only on the basis of two components, the Croatian and the Muslim. The Croatian nationality can no longer accept an army that can be used against it, as was the case with the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]. I feel that a majority of the Croats will serve in Croatian units, which will be a separate component in the joint army. There is no question of terminating the HVO when the joint army is created, because terminating the army would mean terminating its rights. I think that no people would voluntarily renounce its rights.

[Curic] How do you evaluate cooperation with the Bosnian Muslims?

[Solic] I work in an area where policy is not shaped, but where it is carried out. As for the Defense Ministry, we have participated to some extent in making decisions, but mainly we have been carrying out that policy. In defense, the situation is clear, except that some of the Muslims count on some unified Bosnia-Herzegovina, some kind of former concept, while I personally believe that there will never be a unitary state in this region.

[Curic] What is the reorganization of the HVO, and what has it brought?

[Solic] We copied present-day models so that we would get a professional army made up of guards brigades and special units, special arms, which would defend space. We have very successfully completed the reorganization, and I believe that we have an army that is able to defend the space and liberate those areas that are occupied.

[Curic] What has been the response in manning the units?

[Solic] Desires are one thing, and reality and capability something else. I am satisfied; it is my position that in a nationality there is no possibility of everyone becoming part of defense, but in this war the Croats have achieved a very high degree of unity and mobilization in defense of Croatian areas. In this connection, we exceed world levels. I personally support the soldiers and people who want those few who evaded participation in defense to be punished in some way. I am not in favor of drastic penalties. I favor an emblem that would have to be worn by those who did not take part. We are a small nationality, and we cannot tolerate any drastic measures.

[Curic] What standard of living has the war brought to Herzeg-Bosnia?

[Solic] The Croats are a people who do not tolerate poverty. They have always lived at a high standard of living, even in the period when they were mercilessly exploited. They were ready to pick up their suitcase and go to New Zealand, the United States, anywhere on

the globe. This is a big problem, because in wartime it is not possible to guarantee the standard of living people want. We have an incomparably higher standard of living than the Serbs and Muslims, although we lived in areas that were less developed. I think that a balanced relationship should be found between the work obligation, the financial obligation, and the military obligation, and I believe that we will solve this problem by creating conditions, if necessary, for successful prolonged warfare.

[Curic] Are young people leaving Herzeg-Bosnia?

[Solic] I think that process has largely been halted. There are areas where it still has not been stopped. That is a part of Bosnia. Equilibrium has mainly been restored or will be restored.

[Curic] Does Herzeg-Bosnia have problems caring for the disabled, the families of victims of the war...?

[Solic] There can never be enough concern about casualties, and we cannot repay our debt to them solely by material contributions after all that they have done and suffered. We first should solve their basic material problems, and then we should solve the problems of their employment, additional training, additional education, care for children, and we should solve housing problems. Herzeg-Bosnia, with the help of the state of Croatia, the emigres, and the entire Croatian people, has really done quite a bit in this situation.

[Curic] How long will the Bosnian Serbs keep shooting into the area of Zupanja and Cilipi?

[Solic] As I said for Livno and Grahovo, until Croatian units respond in full measure.

[Curic] What message do you have for readers of OBZOR?

[Solic] The objectives of this struggle and the time in which we live are such that each of us should set aside a maximum amount of time. I think this is the only way for us to achieve the objective in a difficult situation, in a difficult time. The burden of the war has to be spread around. If individuals are carrying the load, then there is no guarantee. The burden should be spread around so that it is carried by the maximum number of people, including those who are abroad and who have already shown their support with their financial contribution. Those of us who are here should organize ourselves so as not to expend our energy in vain, so that we do not waste it in conflicts. We should be turned toward achieving the overall Croatian objectives so that after this war there is no need to take a make-up examination and so that the Croatian people outside the Croatian state

is equal to the other nationality with which they choose to live.

Serbs, UN Discuss Sarajevo's Routes, Utilities

*LD0609194395 Pale Srpska Televizija
in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 6 Sep 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Shortly before 1800 hours, members of the [Bosnian Serb] state committee for liaison with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] left in UNPROFOR's personnel carrier for Sarajevo airport, where they are to meet representatives of UNPROFOR's civilian sector and discuss the reopening of the blue routes [Sarajevo supply routes] as well as the Kiseljak-Ilidza-Muslim Sarajevo road. The participants in the meeting will also discuss power, water, and gas supplies to both the Serb and Muslim parts of the city.

The Serb side is completely ready to normalize the situation around Sarajevo, and there are no obstacles to this from our side. Even before the beginning of the air raids against Serb Sarajevo, members of the state committee and UNPROFOR representatives discussed repairing the city's infrastructure. This can be confirmed by Mr. William Eagleton, representative of the special coordinator for Sarajevo.

This meeting was supposed to start at 1600 hours in the Hotel Serbia, but was postponed for unknown reasons for 1800 hours at Sarajevo airport.

Plavsic: Withdrawing Weapons Tantamount to Crime

*LD0609134895 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian
1301 GMT 6 Sep 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 6 Sep (SRNA)—Biljana Plavsic, vice president of the Serb Republic [RS], warned today that any withdrawal of heavy weapons around Sarajevo would be a crime against our own people, "since once they are disarmed, the Serbs will be attacked by the Muslims immediately."

In the "Open Studio" program on Serb TV in Banja Luka, Dr. Plavsic supported General Mladic's proposal that any withdrawal should first be discussed with the Muslim side.

According to Plavsic, NATO strikes against Serb targets in the Sarajevo zone have several strategic aims and that the most important one was to weaken the Serbs militarily.

"By opting for this drastic method, both NATO and the international community want to ensure that Serb representatives enter peace negotiations with the feeling that the Serb nation will be under constant bombardment and

that, as a result, they will have to accept arrangements to be dictated by NATO and the international community," the RS vice president said.

She added that the air attacks, at the same time, should produce an impression among the Muslims that the West is completely on their side.

The vice president of the Serb Republic recalled that Izetbegovic continuously spoke about some integral and unitary Bosnia-Herzegovina, "but by accepting the Contact Group plan he agreed to the division of Bosnia into two parts."

"What they did not manage to do in the past three years, the Muslims are now trying to do with the assistance of NATO war planes and the Rapid Reaction Force; they wish to force the Serb people into a large-scale exodus, which is a futile job," Dr. Plavsic said.

She said that the forthcoming meeting in Geneva should not be attended by Serb Republic Vice President Nikola Koljevic and Minister of Foreign Affairs Aleksa Buha. "Only when the bombardment of the Serb population is halted and when all other conditions for equal treatment are secured negotiations can be held," Dr Plavsic concluded.

Serbs 'Intend' To Defy NATO

AU0609150095 Paris AFP in English
1404 GMT 6 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept 6 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs will not withdraw their heavy weapons from around Sarajevo for as long as the Bosnian Government refuses to pledge it will not attack them, a Serb official said Wednesday [6 September].

Biljana Plavsic, a vice president of the self-declared [Bosnian] Serb Republic, was also cited by BETA news agency telling Banja Luka radio that the Serbs "fully intend" to oppose a UN ultimatum to guarantee the safety of Sarajevo.

Plavsic is the only Serb political leader in the western part of Bosnia, the rest of the government being based in Pale or in the east of the country.

Her comments echoed those of Bosnian Serb General Ratko Mladic in a letter Monday to UN special envoy for the former Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization warplanes resumed air strikes on key Serb positions earlier Wednesday after the Serb leadership failed to withdraw their heavy weapons from a 20-kilometre (12-mile) exclusion zone around the Bosnian capital.

The strikes started on August 30 but were suspended to allow the Serbs time to comply with the conditions.

Fighting 'Has Paid Off'

AU0609234895 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI
in Serbo-Croatian 4 Sep 95 p 5

[Article by R. Milosavljevic: "Agreement Has Not Been Imposed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "The agreement between the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] and the Serb Republic is of great importance, particularly as the strategy of our enemies was at least 50 percent based on Serb disunity," Serb Republic Vice President Biljana Plavsic told Radio Kragujevac yesterday.

In her view, the Serbs can disagree over various political issues, but they have to defend the people and the territory. "The agreement reached has not been, as some people say, imposed," Plavsic stressed. "Belgrade has not exerted pressure on Pale, and the Serb Republic has not set any conditions on the FRY. The issue of national interest, or better said, national survival was brought up."

She went on to say that the NATO attacks in response to the obviously staged massacre in the marketplace near Markale has been seen before by the Serbs in the Serb Republic. Just as in the case of the massacre in the Vase Miskina Street, and in the Markale marketplace in February 1994, everything was again staged. There is a refrigerated warehouse near the marketplace, and it is also indicative that only three women were among the killed, while the rest were all men. "That refrigerated warehouse has a different purpose, and the Muslim side has a tradition of killing its own people," Plavsic said. "This time I am convinced it was done with the U.S. approval so as to provide an excuse for the attacks on our artillery, but unfortunately mostly civilian targets were hit."

"Alija Izetbegovic ordered the strikes, and he has paid the great powers back by saying in Paris yesterday that he will accept negotiations and that he agrees that all the sides in the negotiations are receiving equal treatment," Plavsic stressed. She said that the "U.S. Initiative" on the division of the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina was different from the Contact Group plan.

"These are not just details. According to the Contact Group plan, our territory would have stopped at Brcko, where it would have turned into a flyover. Now it will be a solidly defended Serb area composed of Posavina and the Bosnian Krajina. The Muslim enclaves will disappear, except for Gorazde. Fighting the war has paid off. We have compact territories. According to the U.S. initiative, we will have our borders on the Sava in the north, and the Una in the west. Every fighter of ours,

the entire nation know what they have been fighting for, and what Posavina is, and what a monitored passage is."

SDS Session Discusses Situation, Air Strikes

*LD0609194295 Pale Srpska Televizija
in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 6 Sep 95*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A session of the executive committee of the Serb Democratic Party of the Serb Lands [SDS] is due to take place in Pale tomorrow. The session will, as it has been announced, discuss the military and political situation in the wake of the Croatian aggression against the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] and NATO criminal attacks on the Serb Republic.

According to a statement forwarded to SRNA by the executive committee, party president Radovan Karadzic will attend the session. All presidents of the party's coordination committees are also invited to the meeting. [passage omitted]

Adopts Declaration on Herzegovina

*LD0709110895 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian
1025 GMT 7 Sep 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Gacko, 7 Sep (SRNA)—The coordination committee of the Serb Democratic Party of Serb Lands for eastern Herzegovina met in Gacko yesterday and adopted a Declaration on Eastern Herzegovina, which deals with the rights of the Serb nation in eastern Herzegovina and within the borders of this part of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic.

"The territory of eastern Herzegovina is an integral part of the Serb Republic and comprises the populated areas on the left bank of the Neretva River from Bradina, Konjic, and down to Neum, with the Neretva as its natural border."

The Declaration says that the territory of Herzegovina "borders Montenegro in the east and the Dubrovnik territory in the south."

The Serb Democratic Party of Serb Lands coordination committee says in its declaration that "the people of eastern Herzegovina reserve the right to liberate the temporarily occupied territories."

The declaration was also signed by the presidents of all eastern Herzegovina municipal assemblies. The document will be submitted to the top state and military leadership of the Serb Republic.

Bileca Municipal Assembly President Milorad Vujovic said the "declaration took time in coming because the Serb Sarajevo municipal assembly should have come up with a similar declaration before anyone else."

He added: "Contrary to malicious interpretations, the declaration does not reflect any separatist tendencies on the part of the people of Herzegovina."

Gen Milovanovic: Serbs Determined To Fight On

*AU0709091195 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija
in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 6 Sep 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Lieutenant General Manojlo Milovanovic, head of the Serb Republic Army General Staff, has issued a statement which says, among other things, the following:

The Army of the Serb Republic is, on the whole, determined and ready to persist in defending the land borders of the Serb Republic, its territory, the Serb nation, and its state, while carrying out defensive operations against the NATO Air Forces, in which it has so far been absolutely successful. The downing of several aircraft during NATO combat activity proves that.

The statement by Lt.Gen. Manojlo Milovanovic, head of the Serb Republic Army General Staff, further says:

The NATO aggression and the synchronized offensive of the Muslim-Croat forces have so far not realized even their initial goals. They did not even manage to set the scene for the realization of their goals, states, among other things, Gen. Milovanovic in today's statement. All fronts of the Army of the Serb Republic are stable and, in the western part of the front, the Serb Army has the strategic initiative. The organization of antiair defense, the Army, and the people is getting better by the minute and the unity of the Army and the people determined to defend every inch of Serb territory at all costs is absolute.

General Mladic, Serb Republic Army commander in chief, and Gen. Milovanovic, head of the Serb Republic Army General Staff, are in constant contact, are directly commanding operational units and groups, and carrying out coordinated actions on the western and eastern fronts, as well as in all other parts of the Serb Republic. Every officer and soldier of the Serb Republic Army is fully aware that the destiny of the Serb nation and the Serb state depends upon the results of the fighting on the fronts against the Muslim-Croat forces and on the stability of our fighting along all defense lines. We must, therefore, keep Serb defense lines impenetrable in these crucial days. To that end, all commands, units, and individuals must do everything the combat situation calls for, ends the statement by Lt. Gen. Manojlo Milovanovic, head of the Serb Republic Army General Staff.

BSA on NATO Coordination With Muslims, Croats
LD0609152495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1418 GMT 6 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 6 Sep (TANJUG)—NATO air strikes on military and civilian targets in the Serb Republic represent NATO aggression which is synchronized with actions being carried out by Muslim and Croat forces, of which the best evidence is their stepped-up intensity over the past few days, says a communique issued by the General Staff of the Serb Republic Army [BSA] today.

The communique, signed by Lieutenant Colonel General Manojlo Milovanovic, BSA deputy chief of General Staff, says that the objective of this air operation is to change the balance of power in former Bosnia-Herzegovina to the benefit of the Muslim-Croat coalition, not only with the assistance of NATO but also with help from the Rapid Reaction Force.

The BSA says that not even preliminary conditions for the realization of that objective have been created. The communique says that material damage and insignificant losses to BSA manpower have been inflicted, while several civilians have been killed.

The communique says that Croat and Muslims forces, which launched fierce attacks simultaneously with the NATO action, suffered much bigger casualties.

The BSA command stresses that all defense lines are stable, while the BSA has assumed strategic initiative in western parts of the front. "The organization of anti-aircraft defense and protection of the BSA, important facilities, and population is improving," the communique says.

According to the Serb military command, Colonel General Ratko Mladic, chief of General Staff of the Serb Republic Army, and General Milovanovic, deputy chief of General Staff, are in constant contact and are directly involved in commanding the operational units that are carrying out coordinated activities on the western and eastern fronts and elsewhere in the Serb Republic.

"The army and the entire people in the Serb Republic are resolved and ready to persist in the defense of the land borders of the Serb Republic, its territory, the Serb people, and its state, with the simultaneous carrying out of the defense operation against the NATO Air Forces, in which complete success has been achieved so far, which is best corroborated by the downing of a number of NATO war planes which were engaged in combat operations," the communique says.

NATO Aids 'Muslim Occupation'

AU0609182195 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Information Service of the General Staff of the Army of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic has reported that the NATO Air Forces have resumed the criminal air strikes on Serb positions and civilians today. The announcement reads as follows:

Even with the guarantees that the Army of the Serb Republic has provided, the promises that the authorities of the Serb Republic have provided, and the readiness that was expressed to find the modalities for a peaceful resolution to the crisis that has arisen in relations between the Serb Republic on the one hand and UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] and NATO on the other, today the NATO Air Forces have resumed air strikes on Serb positions and civilians in the Sarajevo area and on the Romanija plateau.

Parallel with the latest NATO air strikes, Muslim forces [Bosnia-Herzegovina Army] from the so-called protected area of Sarajevo launched a heavy attack on the Serb defense positions in Grbavica [Serb-occupied suburb of Sarajevo]. According to information, Serb soldiers are heavily responding to the attacks and are in firm control of the defense lines.

There is no information about the consequences of the latest strikes yet. Medical and expert teams are out to help and investigate the circumstances.

Many NATO jets are still overflying the wider Sarajevo area. With this air force activity NATO and the international power wielders have shown they are determined to aid the Muslim occupation of Serb Sarajevo by the use of force, which is another proof of their extremely biased relations towards one of the sides in the conflict.

Serb Army Reports on Casualty Figures, Damage

LD0609204495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1905 GMT 6 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 6 Sep (TANJUG)—The General Staff of the Serb Republic Army said tonight that some 100 civilians were killed and more than 100 wounded in NATO raids so far.

The statement issued by the Information Service of the General Staff of the Serb Republic Army "in connection with the resumption of the ruthless and barbaric bombing of Serb Republic territory by NATO's Air Forces" said that "by such actions the world's power brokers have demonstrated their resolve to use force in aiding the Muslim occupation of Serb Sarajevo."

The General Staff of the Serb Republic Army said that NATO aircraft had "dropped hundreds of tonnes of bombs on residential areas in Serb Sarajevo, the Romanija plateau, Mt. Majevica, Grebak, Kalinovik, Visegrad, Cajnice, Srbinje, Han Pijesak, Doboj, and other towns; some 100 innocent civilians lost their lives and more than 100 were wounded in these raids."

"According to information from the field, the criminal aircraft of the Western alliance have directed their deadly cargoes against hospitals, schools, substations, restaurants for workers and refugees, post offices, water storage tanks, warehouses for humanitarian aid, TV and radio transmitters, agricultural facilities, and other civilian targets, some of them up to 100 kilometers from the front line," the statement said.

The General Staff of the Serb Republic Army said that "by carrying out these barbaric attacks against the vital facilities and infrastructure of the Serb people, the Western military alliance displayed a degree of inhumanity unprecedented in recent history."

The Army command stressed that "simultaneously with the NATO raids, Muslim forces from the so-called Sarajevo protected zone have launched attacks and fresh terrorist actions against Serb defense positions, in an attempt to keep up the anti-Serb mood in the world media."

"The latest barbaric actions against the Serbs by the NATO Air Forces and the Rapid Reaction Force are unambiguous proof of total prejudice on the part of the U.S., NATO, and UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] against one side in the conflict," the Army statement said.

Civilian Damage Detailed

AU0709100295

[FBIS Editorial Report] Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian at 1830 GMT on 6 September carries in its regular 40-minute newscast several reports on the military situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Correspondent Rade Malesevic cites a statement by the "Serb Republic Army General Staff" confirming yesterday's NATO air strikes "against Serb positions and civilian targets" and says that "those attacks continue today." The statement further says that "regardless of guarantees given by the Army of the Serb Republic, promises made by the Serb Republic leadership, and their readiness to find a peaceful solution to the crisis that resulted from the relations between the Army of the Serb Republic, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], and NATO, NATO Air Forces resumed air strikes against Serb positions and residential areas around Sarajevo and

the Romanija plateau. Yesterday afternoon, NATO jets also bombed the Visegrad municipality, where several civilian targets in the immediate proximity of the town were hit and set afire. Destructive missiles fired from six jets inflicted enormous material damage." The statement goes on to say that "one combat jet attacked Serb targets on Ozren" and "fired one missile at the southern part of Mt. Ozren."

Malesevic proceeds to describe Bosnia-Herzegovina Army activity and says that "Muslim forces from the so-called protected zone of Sarajevo launched a fierce attack on Serb defense positions on Grbavica" but that "Serb soldiers firmly hold their positions."

Citing the Herzegovina Corps Command, Malesevic says that "the command confirmed this morning that yesterday at 1600 hours [1400 GMT] NATO jets began to bombard civilian targets in the areas of Srbinje, Cajnici, Nevesinje, as well as the Serb municipality of Gorazde. Missiles and bombs were dropped on four areas which sustained enormous material damage."

Reporting on the situation on the Herzegovina front, correspondent Bozidar Stajcic says that "last night after 0200 hours [2400 GMT], for the fourth time in the past week, NATO jets bombarded the Nevesinje area. Destructive air bombs and missiles targeted the suburbs of this Herzegovinian town. According to our information, two 1,000-kg air bombs hit residential buildings causing immense material damage. Fortunately, there were no casualties." His report also says that "since yesterday afternoon, NATO jets dropped dozens of destructive missiles on as many as five targets in the municipalities of Srbinje, Cajnici, and Nevesinje." He describes damage to "civilian buildings" and says that "there are no reports of civilian casualties."

Rade Malesevic then takes over and says that "Serb units have successfully repelled all attacks of Ustasha forces on the Glamoc-Grahovo front inflicting heavy personnel losses" and that "the Ustashes continued pounding civilian targets, especially in the Drvar area." He goes on to describe the situation on the Bihac-Krupa front and says that "the day began with the usual attacks of the Muslim 5th Corps," but that "they were soon pushed back to their original positions." His report also says that "dozens of mortar projectiles were fired toward Serb defense lines on the Grabez plateau. Serb soldiers respond adequately. All Serb defense lines on Srbobran, Kupres, and Vlasica fronts are stable. Several Muslim-Croat attacks have been repulsed. The enemy continues regrouping and bringing reinforcements in the area between Suica, Kupres, and Bugojno. All other Muslim attacks along the defense lines on the Doboj, Ozren-Vozuca, Trebava, and Teslic fronts are a

complete failure. Several strong mortar and small arms attacks were reported on Gradacac and Orasje part of the front. Defense lines remain unchanged on all of those fronts."

East-West Communications Destroyed

AU0609204395 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 6 Sep 95

[Report by Branislav Bozic from Banja Luka]

[FBIS Translated Text] Just before 1800 [1600 GMT] NATO aircraft attacked the wider area of Doboj or, to be more precise, the PTT systems, the radio and TV relay, and have thus confirmed the suspicions here that the bombing raids will be moving from the east to the west of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic.

A statement by the Serb Republic Army's General Staff this evening says that civilian targets, and not only military ones, are coming under attack, particularly the PTT systems, radio and TV relays, water reservoirs, electricity transformation stations, and electricity pylons, with damage even being done to medical institutions and warehouses of humanitarian aid. The same statement says that about 100 civilians have been killed so far, and far more have been wounded.

Apart from these sad figures, the greater part of the PTT network has been destroyed in the Serb Republic, so there is no communication between the eastern and the western parts of the Serb Republic and the situation is the same with the radio and television signals.

Both Muslim [Bosnia-Herzegovina Army] and Croatian formations have been taking advantage of the situation, as they have been attempting to break the defenses of the Serb Republic with very ambitious attacks. These are not just probing attacks, but, the impression is, operations that are being closely coordinated with the NATO air strikes. The assessment here is, therefore, that the ultimate goal is the complete defeat of the Serb Republic Army.

Radio on Military Situation in Bihac, Gorazde

AU0709114495

[FBIS Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1000 GMT on 7 September, within its regular newscast, carries several reports on the fighting in the republic.

Studio announcer Esma Ducic says that "it is somewhat calmer in the region of Una-Sana Canton this morning. Last night and in the early morning hours, however, the Chetniks continued their provocations along the defense lines of the 5th Army Corps and the Croatian Defense Council of the Bihac Military District. The fiercest operations were registered at the [words indistinct] of the Grmec Mountain, and around Bosanska Krupa and (Turski Kozin)." Correspondent Muhamed Mulic adds to this that "the enemy in fact opened mortar fire against the front defense lines of the 5th Corps and then used long-range artillery to shell villages in the depths of the free territory of Una-Sana Canton."

Ducic says that "the 81st Division Information Service reports that our defense lines, as well as civilian targets, in the Gorazde District, particularly in the villages of Vitkovici and Mravinjak, were exposed to aggressor's operations of the usual intensity."

An unnamed correspondent reads a report on the situation in the theater of operations of the 4th Army Corps saying that "in the past 24 hours, Chetniks's heavy artillery pieces were not used, but despite that, we advise all citizens (?in the Neretva Valley) to comply with the measures of maximum caution."

Serbs Step Up Attacks on Bihac

AU0609182595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 6 Sep 95

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Serbs this afternoon stepped up artillery and tank attacks on Bihac and its outskirts. Several shells landed on the town center causing fresh material damage. The Chetnik artillery this afternoon also targeted villages in the Cazin and the free parts of the Bosanska Krupa Municipalities, where, according to as yet incomplete information, several civilians have been wounded.

In addition to this, the Chetniks are constantly attacking our defenses, particularly on the Bihac and Bosanska Krupa part of the front, where the Chetniks are attempting infantry breakthroughs. Our troops' decisive response on the Hrgar-Turski Kozjen-Ripac line thwarted all of the aggressor's attempts. [passage omitted]

Granic Hails Tudjman-Holbrooke Meeting

*LD0609123495 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 6 Sep 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman has received U.S. peace envoy Richard Holbrooke in the Presidential Palace. Holbrooke and Croatian Minister of Foreign Affairs Mate Granic have made statements for the press. Tihomir Vinkovic has this report:

[Begin recording] [Vinkovic] U.S. Under Secretary Holbrooke said that this was his fifth meeting with President Tudjman in the past two weeks. It was decided that he should visit Zagreb again following his talks in Sarajevo and Belgrade for consultations with President Tudjman.

Topics of their talks were the current state of the U.S. peace initiative, the meeting with Milosevic, and the forthcoming meeting in Geneva between the foreign ministers of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and Serbia. Holbrooke said that this meeting would have the limited goal that it should only outline the main principles on how to restore peace.

Croatian Minister of Foreign Affairs Dr. Mate Granic said:

[Granic] This was an important preparatory meeting for the ministerial meeting in Geneva and, what is even more important, for the coordination of views within the overall negotiating process. We believe that the meeting in Geneva, as the first ministerial meeting, has its specific meaning. Despite the fact that we cannot expect much from the meeting, it is still important that such a meeting is taking place at all.

The final objective is to organize a conference between all the three presidents plus the presidents of the Contact Group countries. Today's meeting revealed a high degree of agreement in views held by President Tudjman and Mr. Holbrooke, the head of the U.S. delegation.

[Vinkovic] Asked by a journalist for a comment on Ratko Mladic's attitude, Holbrooke said that his defiance of the international community had attracted an adequate response. In conclusion Holbrooke said that he also spoke with President Tudjman about eastern Slavonia. [end recording]

ICRC Visits Serb Krajina Prisoners

*LD0609181595 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1614 GMT 6 Sep 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept. 6 (TANJUG)—Since the start of the Croatian aggression

on the Republic of Serb Krajina, the representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) have visited 882 imprisoned Serbs in Croatia.

The Belgrade ICRC bureau on Wednesday said in a report that the prisoners are held captive in 13 locations in Croatia.

The ICRC also visited prisoners receiving medical treatment in six hospitals. ICRC said it had spoken with the captives privately and enabled them to contact their families.

ICRC said it had visited the prisoners with the aim of providing them with material aid, viewing conditions in which they are held and what kind of treatment they are receiving.

On Aug. 4, the Croatian Army occupied the southern and northern parts of Serb Krajina, which is a UN protected area, forcing about 250,000 Serb civilians to flee the region.

SNS Leader on 'Genocide' in Krajina Villages

*LD0609180795 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1531 GMT 6 Sep 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Sept 6 (TANJUG)—The president of the Serb National Party (SNS) in Zagreb Milan Djukic said Wednesday that Donji Lapac and surrounding villages in Lika, in the south of the Republic of Serb Krajina, were totally destroyed in "Operation Storm" only because they were Serb.

Djukic told reporters in Zagreb that he had seen for himself the extent of the looting and torching of Serb property when he visited Donji Lapac several days earlier. There were no more Serbs left in Donji Lapac, the monuments were torn down and the graves dug out, while a smell of burning spread over the entire area and there were visible traces of genocide, he said.

He said that those in Croatia's top echelons were responsible for such a state of affairs from Franjo Tudjman, Jure Radic, Adalbert Rebic to Bosiljko Misetic whose statements contributed to the realization of a policy that expels Serbs and violates the Constitution.

The situation is further aggravated by the passive stand of the opposition and the Croatian people who are not raising their voice against what Djukic termed as 'barbaric acts' towards the Serbs.

Over 200,000 people left the Republic of Serb Krajina following the Croatian aggression early in August this year on the southern and northern parts of the Republic of Serb Krajina, the state of the Serbs in the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, which had been under the protection of the United Nations.

Vice president of the party Veselin Pejnovic added that the opposition in Croatia hypocritically applauded to the leader and had nothing to say about ethnic cleansing.

Those who left Croatia out of fear during the "Operation Storm" should be allowed to return whenever they wished, even in a few years time, SNS leaders said and wondered "why should the Serbs not have the same right as a Croat from Australia who is allowed to return to Croatia whenever he wants."

Government 'Obstacles' to Krajina Serbs' Return

AU0609140995 Paris AFP in English
1344 GMT 6 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Sept 6 (AFP)—The Croatian Government has passed two decisions in less than a week creating legal obstacles to an eventual return of the Serb population to Krajina.

The daily newspaper VJESNIK reported Tuesday [5 September] that the government had "temporarily" suspended a constitutional law on Serb autonomy in the Glina and Knin regions, in central and Southern Krajina, where Serbs are in the majority.

The possessions of Krajina Serbs, Serbs, and Montenegrins have also been seized in a decree issued last week.

The government explained that the decision "has been dictated by the fall in percentage of the Serb population in Croatia to below the quota level from which this protection is guaranteed."

Scarcely more than a few hundred Serbs, mainly old or bedridden people are left in Krajina. The others fled in August after the Croatian Army offensive in southern and central Krajina which recaptured the territory.

The law granting Glina and Knin autonomy will be suspended until the next census of the population, which will take place between April 1 and 15, 1996.

In fact, the autonomy law was never applied, as rebel Serbs seized control of both regions, proclaiming a "republic" on nearly a quarter of Croatian territory after the war in 1991.

Last Thursday, the Croatians also took possession of all the goods left behind by Krajina Serbs after their flight to Serbia or to Bosnian-Serb held territory. The decree also affects the belongings of Croatian Serbs who lived in Krajina after August 17, 1990, the date of the Serb rebellion against Zagreb's authority.

Citizens of Serbia and of Montenegro who had houses or land in Croatia were also dispossessed "for lack of use," the decree stipulated. Since the war in the former Yugoslavia in 1991, the Serbs and Montenegrins have not been allowed into Croatia.

Defense Ministry Blamed for Serb Exodus

95BA0329B Split FERAL TRIBUNE
in Serbo-Croatian 17 Aug 95 p 6

[Article by Olga Ramljak: "Veselin Pejnovic Accuses Ivan Tolj of Expelling Serb Civilians During 'Operation Storm': 'Sloppiness' or Deception?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *On the basis of the fact that three Roman letters crept into the seal placed on the proclamation calling on the Serbs to evacuate, even though the leaflet was written in Cyrillic, Pejnovic concludes that this was because of "sloppiness" on the part of the Ministry of Defense, which is allegedly the author of the leaflet and thus is to blame for the emigration of the Serbs; in view of how the Serb forces fled, however, is it not possible that this deception too is part of the special war against Croatia?*

The Office for Human Rights of the Community of Serbs in Croatia has sent an open letter to the media and "to Mr. Ivan Tolj personally" in which the Political Office of the Croatian Armed Forces [HV] is accused of promoting the emigration of Serbs from Croatia. As proof of this, Veselin Pejnovic, who signed the letter, cites the presence of three Roman letters in the seal of the "Ministry of Defense" of the Knin ministate, which was otherwise printed in Cyrillic letters!

Further proof, according to Pejnovic, is the absence of General Mile Mrksic's signature on the decree ordering the withdrawal of the civilian population before the Croatian Armed Forces' advance. "Now, I don't give a damn about Gen. Mile Mrksic," Pejnovic says, but he is nevertheless keenly interested in getting answers to a series of questions from "Mr. Ivan Tolj personally": "First, who made you do this? And which Zagreb associates foisted this upon you? Make an enlargement of the seal. What do you see? Read carefully," Pejnovic advises, and for those with poor vision he encloses an enlarged version of the seal where one can clearly see the words "Ministry of Defense" in which the "n" and two "i's" are written in the Roman alphabet. To Pejnovic, this immediately makes it clear that "someone from the Political Office has obviously mixed up the Cyrillic and Roman alphabets." This "sloppiness," however, had a "maximum effect, justifying the departure (exodus???) of citizens from what have been their homes for 500 years." Pejnovic concludes with a rhetorical question: "Have you ever done anything similar to this?"

Leaving aside the possibility that "experts from our Commission have made a mistake," Pejnovic democratically decided to send his letter and leaflet to the international public as "glaring proof of a propaganda war

through which the emigration (exodus) of the nation is being promoted. We assume that perhaps this too involves serious violations of war conventions and international law."

The Political Office of the RH [Republic of Croatia] Ministry of Defense has yet to comment on the findings of Pejnovic's experts. But what new information can Brigadier General Tolj provide? After continuous calls on the civilian population to comply with President Tudjman's proclamation and stay in their homes? After repeated orders from the commander of the Croatian Armed Forces instructing his units to rigorously protect both civilian lives and civilian property? After the commander's order to slow down military activity in order to avoid civilian suffering? What can Brig. Gen. Tolj say personally, the same Tolj who has already been accused of concealing the truth about the forcibly abducted Danes, only to have photographs and statements by the "kidnapped" UN soldiers fully confirm, two days later, Tolj's statement that the HV did not force them to do anything? After the warning to journalists that they cannot visit the area where war is still being waged on their own, only to see a BBC journalist who did not heed that warning be mortally wounded? Even those who have looked for failings by the Croatian Armed Forces have ultimately had to acknowledge that despite the Serb departure from Croatia, the Croatian military and police forces were extremely proper in the performance of their professional work, and thus in doing their military-police jobs.

In contrast, how did the armed forces of the entity that called itself "Serb Krajina" behave? The army fled ahead of the civilians, Karadzic and Martic have publicly admitted on TV Banja Luka, and wherever civilians overtook them it used tanks to force its way through.

Still, the 39th Kordun Corps became encircled simply because for too long it held positions intended to ensure the civilian population "a way out before the Ustasha armed forces." In this way, they affirmed the general military rule that military forces work to prevent the departure of the civilian population, but also organize that departure. No one attempted to stop the Serbs from the occupied territory, neither with barriers, nor with tanks, nor by blocking any roads. Nor did they flee from military defeat, because the evacuation of the Serb population from Knin began on 4 August at 1900, and thus at the very beginning of "Operation Storm."

The political direction was decided on long before the military chaos in which Martic's and Mrksic's armed forces were forced to retreat. One should recall the stubborn rejection of the very idea of recognizing the con-

stitutional order of the Republic of Croatia, its sovereignty, and its territorial integrity by Jovan Raskovic, Milan Babic, and Milan Martic. The Serbian Orthodox Church remained the most stubborn in denying the Croatian state. It would be hard to find proof that any structure in the occupied territory of Croatia, in the Serb minstate in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and especially in Belgrade had instructed the Serb population in Croatia to recognize the Croatian state and act in accordance with the fact that Serbs in Croatia are Croatian citizens. Let us recall the last example, the one associated with the statement by Veljko Knezevic, the head of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] Office in Zagreb, who explicitly denied telling his fellow Serbs in Knin that they are a minority and are Croatian citizens. Serb leaders Milan Djukic and Milorad Pupovac neither added nor subtracted anything from this when asked to comment. The last offer, the one from Geneva, was also rejected indignantly by Knin's representatives.

To accuse Croatia of promoting the emigration of Serbs on the basis of three Roman letters, after everything witnessed over the past four years and in the finale, during "Operation Storm," is a malicious imputation, if not in fact the waging of a special war against Croatia.

One possible retort to the persistence with which Veselin Pejnovic accuses the Political Office of the Croatian Ministry of Defense of sloppy propaganda that even violates war conventions is a counterquestion: Is it not possible that the seal in question, with the three Roman letters, came from a workshop on the Serb side, the actual goal being to wage a special war against Croatia?

Career, Accomplishments of General Gotovina

95BA0324B Zagreb HRVATSKI OBRZOR
in Serbo-Croatian 7 Aug 95 pp 32-33

[Article by Ivica Marijagic: "General Ante Gotovina: Creator of the Modern Croatian Soldier"]

[FBIS Translated Text] He was only 16 years old when he left Croatia. Like thousands of other young men from Dalmatia, he went to sea, but his adventurist streak went further than that, and so at age 18 he joined the French Foreign Legion. Going to sea was the easiest and fastest way of reaching an exciting world. They say that after that Ante Gotovina was incommunicado for years and decades; he wrote to no one, and no one, including his closest relatives and friends, knew where he was or what he was doing. His return to Croatia in 1990 was therefore a happy event for many people. He immediately became involved in preparations to defend the homeland against imminent Serbian aggression. When the war began, he waged war in Slavonia, and

then also on the other battlefields of the homeland. Thanks to his experience as a legionnaire, he had one success after another in combat and earned promotions, so that in early 1993 he was a colonel and was appointed commander of the Split Corps District. After that, he and his units liberated occupied Croatian territory, and following the last and recent lightning operation of liberation in western Bosnia, when Grahovo and Glamoc were liberated, and Knin, the center of the Serbian armed rebellion against Croatia, was surrounded, Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, promoted him to the rank of colonel general. Summing up his military achievements in the past few years of the Homeland War, then, it might be said that General Ante Gotovina symbolized the organization, professionalization, image, and success of the Croatian Army in the zone of responsibility of the Split Corps District. Because these results have national importance, Gen. Gotovina has become one of the dominant military figures in Croatia. It is not for nothing that information recently surfaced about his possibly being one of the most serious candidates for the position of chief of the General Staff of the Croatian Army. Gotovina has combined in the best possible way the experience of a legionnaire and professional soldier with the experience of a Croatian fighting man, proving at the same time that he is an unusually brave fighter and skillful tactician, planner, and operator. For him, war has long been a science and culture, and he has accordingly instilled in Croatian military units a new spirit and rationality in its activity, as opposed to the amateur's headlong rush and voluntarism. That is why from the first day he won the respect and liking of more or less all the fighting men, and as time passed, Captain Ante Gotovina, born 1955 on the island Pasman, became more and more popular.

Even Morillon Was Impressed

In early 1993, he was entrusted with the post of commander of the Split Corps District, which he holds even now. When he took over on the basis of orders, Gotovina first worked on the image of the Croatian Army and on putting order in the organization, subordination, and generally the "image and action" of the modern Croatian soldier. Before he came, the command headquarters in Zadar was too "loose," disorganized, and unprofessional. Everyone came and went as he pleased; as a practical matter no one knew who was in command and who had authority as the leader of defense. Some of the officers at that time vied to be the first to explain the difficult military situation to the newspapers. Ante Gotovina, at that time a brigadier, marked a close to that chapter in the evolution of the Croatian Army. First, none of his subordinates dared to make a public statement, because "if officers in the West made their judgments

public in the media, they would be fired immediately," Gotovina is known to have said. Second, he established the prescribed appearance of the Croatian soldier, who was not allowed to walk about disheveled and in need of a haircut; the grounds and interior of the building had to be neat at all times. Third, duties and the chain of command had to be clear. Young women employed in the Croatian Army were not allowed to dress like the men, and they all had to be neatly dressed in skirt and blouse and a bow tie. This was a completely new image of the Croatian Army. When Gen. Phillippe Morillon, the Frenchman who was at one time the commander of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] in the former Yugoslavia, arrived in Zadar on his way from Knin and visited the office of Commander Gotovina, he was impressed by the fact that the commander's secretary asked him nicely in French what he wanted to drink. Gotovina, of course, was not interested only in the impression, but made the rounds of the units, requiring discipline, study, and a professional attitude about defense. Aware that Croatia could not resist an aggressor with hastily assembled Home Guards or worker battalions, Gotovina attributed maximum importance to training. Even at that time, he conceived (a project almost completed today) elite Croatian professional units training in accordance with strict standards in a paratrooper training center in Zadar, patterned after the training of NATO forces and the systems of certain Eastern countries. The first really important test of Commander Gotovina was "Operation Maslenica," which he commanded at the operational level. In three days, which was the duration of the Croatian Army's thrust, a dozen Zadar villages were liberated, but also the Novsko Zdrilo and Peruca Dam, positions of extreme strategic importance. Croatia was afterward able to span the Novsko Zdrilo and provide a transportation connection between north and south. However, it was more difficult to defend the areas that had just been won. In the Zadar hinterland at that time, toward the end of January 1993, one of the most serious battles of the Homeland War was waged. The Serbs wanted to retake the territory they had lost, but the superhuman fighting of the defenders frustrated them. In subsequent months, they took revenge by shelling Zadar and Biograd, as well as all the other coastal towns. Brigadier Gotovina was not taken in by the populist demand to shell Benkovac, Knin, and Obrovac in response. "This is nonsensical from a military viewpoint. We might fire a thousand shells on Benkovac, but we would not achieve anything essential by doing so. One shell would be worth more if it was fired on the right place, on one of their important combat positions," Gotovina said. Nevertheless, he did pay the Chetniks back. Responding to those attacks, in late 1993 the Croatian defenders carried out a counter-attack in the Biograd hinterland and came within reach

of Benkovac, inflicting very large losses on the Chetniks. However, international circumstances were such at the time that they had to return to their initial positions. This was Commander Gotovina's revenge for enemy attacks on civilians. "From now on, every attack of theirs against civilians will be drastically punished, but I reserve the right to decide when and where I will strike," Gotovina explained after the action.

A Hard Taskmaster

At that time, there was still belief in the effectiveness of the UN Protection Forces. Brig. Gotovina, commander of the Split Corps District, did attend the early meetings of the so-called joint sector commissions. Realizing that the meetings with the Serbian side were usually a waste of time, Gotovina soon began to ignore them. "That also showed the UNPROFOR what I thought of them." He always gave the impression of an authentic soldier: cool, decisive, effective, and a hard taskmaster in defending Croatian interests. Officer Ante Gotovina rarely displays emotion, so rarely that this is not even typical of the soldier's reticence. Sometimes it seems that he even does not have any. Shortly after "Operation Maslenica," his brother was wounded in combat. Someone afterward asked Commander Gotovina whether he would visit his wounded brother. Gotovina, however, angrily turned on the questioner and asked him wherever he got the idea of suggesting something like that. "I will visit him just like all the other wounded," he replied. In his actions, he is unusually strict and fair, and it seems that the Army puts the highest value on this, and that with this approach Gotovina has gained unusually great authority with his subordinates, but more and more with his superiors as well. When his command is not carried out, he is ready to knock out the person who is not executing it at a moment when the situation does not allow any delay in the sense of "shall I or shall I not." Do not spare yourself, therefore no one else. As he sees it, a high-risk base is established at Zadar, where it takes away the breath of an ordinary man to see all the obstacles the Croatian professional soldiers must overcome in their training. This is a system of superhuman obstacles that are not to be seen on conventional military exercise grounds. Along with all the rest, they also use survival techniques here: For days, the soldiers have no water, and then when they encounter a chicken, pig, or some other animal, they must prepare and eat it in just an hour. If they do not manage to do this in 60 minutes, they are not allowed to eat at all. "On this exercise ground, the soldier strengthens his body and spirit. After the training, this is an altogether different person who surmounts all the obstacles in a real war situation without difficulty," Gotovina explains, adding that the skills acquired become instinctive.

Commander Gotovina keeps visits to politicians very short, just long enough to express gratitude for being received and promises a resolution before the year is out, if, of course, he is given the order. More than anyone else, it seems that he could hardly wait the other day for the Split Declaration to be signed between President Tudjman and Izetbegovic and the order to operate in western Bosnia. As is now already well known, Gen. Gotovina liberated more than 700 square kilometers in three days during his blitzkrieg, including Grahovo and Glamoc, which was a bitter pill for the enemy. Even President Tudjman could not remain indifferent to the splendid success of Gen. Gotovina, and he quickly promoted him to colonel general. Many say that Gen. Gotovina's rise through the military ranks is the result of teamwork. They would be right, mainly because the commander of the Split Corps District has beside him Brig. Rajko Rakic, a splendid planner and operator without whom Gen. Gotovina would be unable to get everything done. But that does not diminish his merits in the least; on the contrary, this is evidence of his belief in cooperation, teamwork, and high-level professionalism.

Following the liberation of Grahovo and Glamoc, interest once again increased very rapidly in the 39-year-old general from Pakostan near Biograd-na-moru. When he has the time, he can carry on a polite conversation with anyone; he can acknowledge in brief outline that he was a sailor and a legionnaire, but he will not give away any other details in his biography. So, he seems mysterious, but also superior and impressive in a military way. For several years now, the Serbian rebels have been spreading a paranoid fear of the "hardened mercenary and us-tasha Gotovina," and up to now he has punished them only to the extent he has been allowed to do so.

Activities of Political Parties Reviewed

95BA0324A Zagreb HRVATSKI OBZOR
in Serbo-Croatian 31 Jul 95 pp 26-27

[Article by Zelimir Zanko: "A Hot Campaign Summer"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Events on the stage of the agitated campaign among Croatian political parties are not slowing down in spite of the great summer heat. Indeed, the heat seems to have intensified activity, and the party agitation is already close to the boiling point. We now have one more rightist and parliamentary party, and there is a new rightist split and court suit concerning it, while the other interparty fronts, where possible partners and the most dangerous rivals have so far been carefully taking each other's pulse, are opening up fast in almost all directions and at all levels. Put simply, the jockeying for starting positions in advance of the next election has begun in earnest.

Paraga Is Again "in the Saddle"

One of the most important events in recent days is the institutional reactivation of Dobroslav Paraga and his Rights Party, which will have important consequences on the right-wing scene, but also on the general party scene. After he lost the legal opportunity to prove before Croatian courts that Djapic and company had taken away his party, the resilient Paraga has two years later managed to register a new-old party under a "different" name: HSP [Croatian Rights Party] 1861. The party platform has been touched up. To the surprise of many, Paraga, a politician who in the Croatian public and politics was at one time the loudest exponent of the Ustashi and the NDH [Independent State of Croatia], has now coolly renounced them. By contrast with Djapic's HSP, Paraga's Rightists are more inclined toward coalition with other opposition parties, and the best indication of the constituency they target is the pathetic quotation from one of their panel discussions, where it was said that "as victims, we know what it means to be humiliated, robbed, insulted, ostracized, exiled, and this is the party of all the ostracized, exiled, and oppressed." Known as a radical critic of the current Croatian Government and especially President Tudjman, Paraga stresses as the goals of his new "oldest Croatian" party free elections, removal of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] from power, denationalization, invalidation of the transformation, along with the social "aroma" of a concern for retirees and the workers. Along with that almost conventional opposition repertoire, the HSP 1861, by contrast with the current HSP, will certainly devote more attention to problems related to what is usually referred to as human rights. There is indication of this in the communique that was published on 26 July by NOVI LIST concerning the alleged "eviction, that is, the most loathsome terrorist attack and violence," which, they say in the HSP 1861, was committed in the apartment of the well-known Marija Zuzija by "members of certain special units of the HV [Croatian Army]"

This public image of Paraga as a person wholly devoted to the noble objective of protecting human rights was perhaps involuntarily shaped to some extent in a quarter that few people expected, Paraga least of all. That is, a certain Vojin Dabic, who introduced himself as director of the Information Center of the nongovernment organization Serbian Conference, said in an interview for INTERVJU of Belgrade that during his stay in The Hague, where he presented documents to the War Crimes Tribunal on alleged Croatian atrocities during the liberation of western Slavonia, "it seems paradoxical, but it is true that at this moment we have no evidence of atrocities committed by members of the

most defamed party in Croatia, Paraga's Rights Party." And he added: "We did not obtain the first data on the suffering of the Serbs in Pakracka Poljana from European observers, or from international humanitarian organizations, or from an organization for protection of human rights. We received that information from Paraga's Rights Party!" Comments on this interesting statement from both Paraga and also Mercep have not been forthcoming, but it will be equally interesting to hear what Djapic and Kandara have to say, because at the time of the events in Pakracka Poljana they were in the HSP along with Paraga.

Djapic: A Decision of the Ruling Circles

It is clear from the bitter words with which Djapic greeted legalization of Paraga's party that he will not be one to spare his former boss in the least. "Although this bad move could be justified by the July heat, the whole matter is very transparent. This is a political decision by certain ruling circles," Djapic said, obviously trying to get as many points as he could from an adverse event, and to do so on a side where Paraga's resurrection in party political life is obviously beginning to itch the most, and that is the alleged proximity of the HSP to the HDZ. It is of interest that similar charges of political intervention in what would appear to be simple administrative recordkeeping and registration of parties were issued by Paraga when he was removed from the top position and from the position of a person representing the HSP. "The motive behind the registration of Paraga's party is to create confusion on the right-wing scene, because the HSP, with its possible 10 percent of the vote, has become too dangerous a rival, so that those who have made this possible now think that Paraga could take away some of our votes. Our program has been confirmed, and they are afraid that we will take away votes from them," Djapic said, saying that he otherwise welcomes the establishment of yet another left-wing Croatian party, "but not with the name of the HSP." The HSP immediately filed an administrative suit against registration of the HSP 1861 "for flagrant violation of the Law on Political Parties," but it did not win the case, and is announcing that it is going to go to the highest judicial institutions in Croatia, the Constitutional Court and the Supreme Court.

Of course, even the observers most inclined to the Rightists fail to see any prospect of unification of the HSP and HSP 1861 before or after the election. In Djapic's words, "they have completely opposite strategies and programs; for example, with his change in principles, Paraga has set himself very much apart from the Ustasha movement."

Vedris in the HSS?

The HSS [Croatian Peasant Party], on the other hand, "an archenemy of the Rightists," has been recording steady growth and new points, which can be laid to serious effort, especially in the field. The HSS achieved one of its shining moments with its recent reception by Prime Minister Valentic, who acknowledged on that occasion that he is setting a precedent by receiving representatives of one party, which indicates not only the importance of the occasion for the visit (the purchase of peasant wheat and the generally bad situation in agriculture), but also the importance that the HDZ people are paying to the heirs of Radic's party. It is a bit comical to see Zlatko Canjuga, just as though he were wooing the village beauty, taking careful pains and currying the favor of the HSS, missing no occasion to offer an election marriage, in spite of the repeated "cold shoulder." It is also significant that no one in the incumbent party, which is otherwise inclined to play "hard ball" with the opposition, even tried to interpret the HSS threat to block highways and border checkpoints through which smuggled agricultural products enter Croatia as a possible attack on the state and its independence and sovereignty. In the HSS, they say that everyone is now courting them as a "good catch," but they know about the difference between a bride with ducats around her neck and a prostitute whose skirt someone has pulled up, "and we certainly do not qualify as that." Soberly evaluating this desirability, the HSS people conclude that they have many suitors because they have been constantly present in the field (as demonstrated by the well-prepared blockade of the highways, which has been postponed), where they now have about 34,000 members in 970 chapters, which is twice as many as they had at the time of the 1992 election. "That is why everyone would like to 'get on our bandwagon,' but our members do not like such offers," says Predrag Haramija, chief secretary of the HSS, emphasizing the party's slow progress as a guarantee of success. Not only have they established new chapters, but in recent days, they say, they have also even had quite a bit of success in taking over those of others, because entire chapters of the HDZ, for example, in Bribir, are coming over to them, "and that is why we did not arrange for a visit to the Presidential Palace." We were unable to obtain from the HSS a confirmation of the rumors that have been circulating in party circles for some time now that Mladen Vedris (former member of the HDZ), who is an independent deputy in parliament, is coming over to join them. "There are some friendly ties to certain individuals," Haramija comments diplomatically, saying that no official talks have been conducted with Vedris (and through him perhaps with Manolic and company

as well). On the possibility of Vedris turning up on the HSS election slate, Haramija says that "he would have to work to get that favor."

The SDP Is Not the HDZ

One of the possible partners of the HSS in a coalition, the HNS [Croatian People's Party], is still in the most serious crisis since it was founded, a crisis so severe that even the honorary president, Dr. Savka Dabcevic-Kucar, has had to confirm in public that the party still exists and is operating. What will happen in the end to what once was the most important opposition party aside from the fact that it will not play any of the principal roles in the next election (there is some question of whether it will get even a supporting role) is difficult to predict. But it is now evident how much influence was held by the former vice presidents who fled, Slavko Mestrovic and especially Ivica Vrkic, who were followed into the HDZ by numerous chapters in Slavonia. The fate of the SDP [Social Democratic Party] is equally uncertain, burdened as it is both by internal weaknesses, for example, the lack of a recognizable overall outlook, and also by the competition concerning the social democratic or socialist image with Tripalo's ASH [Action of Social Democrats of Croatia], to which Horvat's SDU [Social Democratic Union] has been contributing its characteristic muddy water. We now have seen the day when the SDU, in the face of the entire opposition, voted for the government's (the HDZ's, according to Horvat) decree on so-called solidarity saving, which was voted down in the parliament without very much todo. So much for the aptness of Horvat's "socialist" assessment! Real confusion in left-wing circles, which above all indicates their vulnerability and mutual irreconcilability, was caused, meanwhile, by Sek's joking and harmless offer to the SDP (over Independent TV) of a coalition with the HDZ. The most spiteful comment on this frivolous offer, as though it were a deal done and signed, came from the ranks of the left-wing regionalists, Dalmatian Action [DA]. Its president, Dr. Mira Ljubic-Lorger, observed, perhaps considering this to be a clever and penetrating statement, that "the only thing that occurs to me in connection with this coalition is national socialism."

So, once again, fascism is being imputed to Croatia unthinkingly, for reasons of petty politics, even though this time there is not the slightest reason for anything of the kind except perhaps sniping at a public that can still hear the echoes of the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] that "Racan and Tudjman are both Ustashi." The election will show how many votes the small DA will get with statements like that.

A considerably more important battle is being waged by the SDP in Rijeka, where its member Josip Bursic has resigned the position of vice zupan of Primorsko-Goranska Zupanija. This was the culmination of the longstanding quarrel in the ruling HSLS [Croatian Social Liberal Party]-SDP-HNS coalition. Thus, the mayor of Rijeka, Slavko Linic (SDP), having blown his cool in the exhausting fight with the zupan, Josip Roja (HSS), has declared that the SDP will never again enter into an alliance with Liberals. Obviously aware that this conflict plays most into the hands of the HDZ, confirming their assertions that party coalitions cause political instability, which is especially dangerous in times of great change, the SDP people are obviously trying to slow down the ball (Vladimir Sepcic, chairman of the City Committee of the DSP [Democratic Rights Party] for Rijeka, has said that the decision to cooperate with the Liberals will nevertheless be made within the party), as are the Liberals, who are now offering the SDP the opportunity, under an agreement between the parties, to elect their man to the position of vice zupan. If this unravels into a complete party squabble, which will threaten even the normal functioning of government in Rijeka and the zupanija, then the HDZ will certainly not need any better promotion against the opposition, which is often described on a whole as fighting like "cats and dogs" and caring about nothing but taking power at any cost.

HSLS: The Tranquilizing Proximity of Power

The strongest opposition party, the HSLS, has in recent days directed full attention to two events: the events in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the parliamentary debate of the rebalanced budget. It has displayed full unity on these topics, so that the alleged quarrels about Budisa's alleged resignation have quickly dropped into oblivion. That problematical conflict, which served many people as an exercise ground for unrealistic assertions about a final split and a downfall of the Liberals in the next election, will certainly break out again in public, spread, and again be justified when it suits the Liberals, but without hazardous consequences for the party, until the election positions of all the distinguished Liberals are finally clear. This is actually an intraparty competition and free advertising for the Liberals under the mask of a fierce conflict, because it is clear even to political tyros that the strongest opposition party cannot break up overnight, especially not when places in the Assembly and perhaps even in the executive branch are equally promising (to the so-called elitists and populists) for the next four years. Budisa's words should be taken with equal reserve when he says that he as a politician is a bit cramped by the position of president of the HSLS,

because without the party Budisa would quickly lose his platform.

The Strengths and Weaknesses of the HDZ

The HDZ's dirty linen (as it was called by Ivan Milas) has provided quite a few parliamentary topics in the meantime. It is building its campaign by winning over members and entire chapters of the other parties, especially the HNS, and by stressing the alleged immaturity, insufficient devotion to Croatian statehood, and supposed pro-Yugoslavism of the opposition. And, while Valentic's rapid withdrawal from "solidarity saving" (in which the prime minister played the role of a "bad boy" with no serious consequences) can be seen as having gained political points for the party itself, the HDZ (in the role of the "good boys"), the real parliamentary conflict because of Kutla's amendment on the purchase of denationalized housing units, along the Kutla-Domljan-Milas line, showed the real problems faced in building an acceptable picture of the HDZ in the coming days of the campaign. Above all, there are the failures in privatization and transformation related to the unlawful involvement of numerous candidates of the HDZ who at one time were promising. Does the fact that even Domljan is being accused of embezzlement in the transformation indicate that new people, unburdened by embezzlement in privatization, will replace the people whose prestige is spent in the top places on the HDZ election slate? Nevertheless, with the old people or new ones, the HDZ, according to surveys, remains the strongest political party in Croatia, closely associated with the salutary and unquestioned political capital brought to it by the widespread public support enjoyed by the president, Dr. Tudjman. One of the enduring nightmares of the opposition is how to break that winning combination.

RSK's Martic Criticizes 'Capitulating' Belgrade

AU0709102995 Belgrade TELEGRAF
in Serbo-Croatian 6 Sep 95 pp 15-17

["Exclusive" interview with Milan Martic, president of the Republic of Serb Krajina, by Djoko Kesic and Zoran Lukic; place and date not given: "Milan Martic Admitted to TELEGRAF: I Am To Be Blamed, but Architects Are in Belgrade"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] An exclusive part of Banja Luka, and the house number 123 in Ulica Kralja Petra street with the hoisted flag of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], which looks nice and tragic at the same time, has recently become the home of Milan Martic and some members of the RSK state and military leaderships. Milan Martic says that his home for the next 10 years will be in the woods, that it is not important where he is going to sleep. The only important thing for

him is to gather together his army and to fight for the liberation of Krajina. [passage omitted]

[TELEGRAF] Can your people experience a greater tragedy than the one that has already befallen them?

[Martić] The capitulating policy of the capitulating regime in Belgrade, I am afraid, will lead to an even greater tragedy, to the destruction of the Serb nation as a whole. We represent only an episode in this process. I would be happy if the current tragedy of Serbianhood stopped at this. I am afraid it will not. [passage omitted]

I am now being accused of rejecting the Z-4 plan. The regime in Belgrade also agreed that we should not even consider the plan. Milosevic did not even hint to me to consider the plan, let alone accept it. He even shared my belief that, according to that plan, there would be no decent life for Serbs in Croatia. I am not one of those creeps who are now waving the Z-4 plan as a missed opportunity.

[TELEGRAF] Immediately before the fall of Krajina you had a meeting with Slobodan Milosevic and the top officers of the VJ [Army of Yugoslavia] in Belgrade. What did you discuss?

[Martić] We did not discuss the Z-4 plan or any other alternatives on that occasion either. During the meeting, Milosevic assured me that Krajina would not be alone. We knew that the attack was imminent. However, when I asked that Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia issue an official statement, send an open ultimatum to Tudjman, he told me that would not be politically prudent, because of the world.

[TELEGRAF] Who did you meet from the VJ leadership during your last visit to Belgrade?

[Martić] I realized what the game was when Glamoc and Grahovo fell. I quickly went to Belgrade and demanded a meeting with some VJ generals. I hardly found anyone. Everyone was on vacation. Those I did speak to told me that they would not leave us in the lurch.

I left Belgrade convinced that Krajina would not be alone since, as everybody knows, and as I thought, the general policy in all Serb lands had never been conducted by Karadzic and me. It was conducted from Belgrade, and Belgrade was supposedly holding all the strings in its hands. After all, all our military plans about the defense of Krajina were prepared with the full consent of the VJ, VRS [Army of the Serb Republic], and the SVK [Serb Army of Krajina].

It had been agreed a long time before the fall of Krajina that, in the event of aggression on any part of Krajina, the others must come to help. Why Milosevic did not

want to help, you must ask him. What I, as a very desperate person, asked from Milosevic during our last meeting was that he send an ultimatum to Tudjman. I was clutching at straws. I did not get this. After that, the Croatian media claimed the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia would not interfere, and Akashi, after his meeting with Milosevic, delightfully stated on Croatian television that he was given guarantees that Yugoslavia would not interfere. [passage omitted]

[TELEGRAF] Some of your soldiers have recently been publicly wondering as to why missile systems had not been used to hit vital military targets in Croatia when Krajina came under attack?

[Martić] The military command was absolutely independent, which means that they could have hit vital military targets in Croatia if they had wanted to do so. When I realized that this was not being done, I ordered these targets be hit. The military command, a certain military command, the one that was drawing wages from Belgrade, did not carry out my order. The names of those who did not carry the order and their reasons will be revealed in the future.

[TELEGRAF] How much arms and military equipment was left in Krajina?

[Martić] Arms and equipment were by and large pulled out. Missile systems were pulled out, too. What was left behind was a large amount of ammunition of all calibers. [passage omitted]

Serb Military Claims Army Breaking Cease-Fire

AU0709095595 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija
in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 6 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Vukovar Command of the RSK [Republic of Serb Krajina] Army Slavonia-Baranja Corps stated today that Croatian armed provocations along the separation line in eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem are becoming more and more frequent regardless of the cease-fire agreement. The statement says that one Serb soldier was wounded by sniper fire of the Croatian forces in the Kopacki Rit area and that small arms fire from the Vinkovac suburb of Vaseriste targeted Serb positions at Cerici. The statement says that the Croats have again started using mortars. Three mortar shells fired from Brijest, near Osijek, landed on Serb positions in the Tenjski Antunovac area. Four rocket launcher projectiles landed on the Baranja village of Bilje. Observing the cease-fire agreement, the Serb forces did not respond to the Croatian provocations, the statement says.

Provocations Increasingly Frequent

*LD0609170495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1407 GMT 6 Sep 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Vukovar, 6 Sep (TANJUG)—Croatian armed provocations along the separation line in eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem are becoming increasingly frequent despite the cease-fire agreement, the Vukovar-based command of the Slavonia-Baranja Corps of the Serb Army of Krajina said in a statement issued today.

The statement specifies that one Serb soldier was wounded by sniper fire opened by the Croatian forces on the Kopacki Rit area [northeast of Osijek]. It added that Croats opened small arms fire on Serb positions near Cerić [northeast of Vinkovci] from the Vasariste suburb of Vinkovci.

The Croats have again started to use mortars, the statement said. Three 82-mm mortar shells, which were fired from the village of Brijest near Osijek, fell on Serb positions in the Antunovac Tenjski area. Four missiles fired from hand-held launchers fell on the village of Bilje.

The Croatian armed provocations were most intensive yesterday afternoon at the time when the Peter Galbraith, American ambassador in Zagreb, held talks with the Serb side in Erdut [on the border between Serbia and Croatia], the statement said.

The Serb side observed the cease-fire agreement and it did not respond to the Croatian provocations, the statement added.

Krajina Men Describe Enforced Army Training

*AU0709102595 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian
1 Sep 95 p 15*

[Article by Dragan Cicic: "'Full Metal Jacket'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] His transparently blue eyes are constantly moving. While seated he is always bent down almost to the surface of the table, and every time he wants to say something he turns around before he starts whispering, with his lips close to the ear of his listener. "Mile" is a refugee from Knin who has found shelter in Vojvodina. It is not much of a shelter, however.

"I feel like a hunted animal," he says. He developed this feeling not only because of the four years of war or because of the fall of his town and the evacuation of the entire population from Krajina. The experience he had at the military base in Erdut, which is, as he claims, run by Arkan followers, extremely well-trained commandos in black uniforms, was the culmination of fear.

"Mile" is so nervous when he speaks that he almost gives the impression of being a psychiatric patient. This impression is reinforced by the recently shaved head covered by the same bristles as the skinny chin. "This is the hairdo I was given in Erdut."

"Mile's" story more or less corresponds to the ones told by his friends and neighbors who went through the same treatment, as well as to the description of the situation one of the refugees still in Erdut gave on the phone to his relative who now lives in another Banat village. All these people are adult Krajina men, younger than 60, mobilized in the street or in the houses in which they had found shelter. "Mile" was asked to show his identity card when he was standing with his friend in front of the house in which he now lives at 1600 one afternoon. They were both told to enter the car and were taken without any explanation to a solitary parking lot outside the village. A military truck without registration plates was waiting there. "Mile" was put into it, and the tarpaulin was lowered.

They were spoken to for the first time after they reached Erdut. Big boys of a dangerous appearance wearing impeccable black uniforms ordered them to run to the garrison, which was less than a hundred meters away. The slow ones were urged to run more quickly with fierce kicks. The Krajina refugees were then told as follows: "The rules of the training here are very easy: It is forbidden to ask questions or to use the words like 'I do not want' or 'I cannot' in answers. Any violation of discipline will be severely punished, and the punishment is severe whipping."

Whipping was, however, also the punishment for slow running, crawling.... The description of the training given by those who went through it or who are still going through it very much reminds one of the Stanley Kubrick movie "Full Metal Jacket," the topic of which is the mental and emotional abuse of boys drafted by the U.S. Marines during the Vietnam war.

Before they were given any other education, the newly arrived Krajina recruits had to pitch the tents in which they slept, since they were not allowed to sleep in the shacks in which permanent unit members sleep. They were regularly given food.

After many days of training, "Mile," just like several other men, dared to remark that he was ill and that he had medical documentation to prove it, which he did not have on him, but he said that he wanted to see the doctor. At the beginning he was punched for making these demands, but a doctor was finally brought in and he stated that the complaints were justified. "Mile" was returned to Vojvodina, but he and other persons we

interviewed claim that perhaps up to 3,000 Krajina men are still in Erdut.

The stories told to their compatriots by the rare returnees from Erdut spread like fire. It is almost impossible to see a Krajina refugee fit for military service on the streets of villages or small towns.

"We live here in bigger fear than in Krajina," says "Slavko," a dark man with a moustache, who used to be a railroad employee before the war. "Those two weeks in Banat were more difficult for me than one year at the front in Krajina. The people are good and they help us in every possible way, but we are afraid that we might be taken away by the police."

He avoids going out during the day and does the opposite thing during the night. Out of 16 days he has spent in a Banat village up to now, "Slavko" has spent only two nights in the house in which he temporarily lives. "We have our people in the village and we are all on alert," he explains. "When the police, who usually come around 0200 or 0300 in the morning, start encircling the houses, there is always someone who sees them because they have lamps on them. Then we inform each other by phone or certain signals and we run away and hide."

Apart from that, male refugees do not report their correct address to the police, they rather give the addresses of their friends, acquaintances, or relatives, where they do not live, as the place of their residence. They do this

because they are convinced that the Red Cross of Serbia forwards their addresses to the police. This accusation could also be heard in the past, but Red Cross officials keep on denying it.

"We Krajina refugees have come to our senses. Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem cannot be defended without the participation of the Yugoslav Army. Nobody obliged himself to send the Krajina Army there if Croatia attacks. We would be sent there and have to defend ourselves for a longer time, we would be killed in other words, in order to enable someone to collect political points by proving that Slavonia has not been sacrificed like Krajina. Martić is attacked here because he ordered the evacuation, but if he had not, if we had offered a more powerful resistance, we would have all been killed without having rescued Krajina. I am not going to Slavonia, not under any circumstances," "Slavko" told us. His wife, hugging their daughter, said: "If they come to take him away, I will throw stones at the police car, I will not allow anybody else to take him away again."

The refugees did not show any more enthusiasm for Milan Martić's idea about waging a guerrilla war. "The war is over for us, almost five years have been enough," "Slavko" says. "We do not want to be chased and thrown into trucks like pigs, we should be allowed to work. We shall find a way out ourselves, we do not expect anything from anyone any longer."

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Foreign Minister Addresses Assembly on Greece

AU0709015595 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA
in Macedonian 6 Sep 95 p 2

[Address by Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski to the Assembly in Skopje on 5 September: "Let Us Take a Step Toward One Another"]

[FBIS Translated Text] I would like to present to you the most recent information on developments in the relations between the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] and the Republic of Greece. But first, please allow me to review the rudimentary positions of the dispute, as well as some elements that, to a certain extent, have altered the situation to make us believe that swift action could lead to a solution.

All of you remember very well that when the Republic of Macedonia started on its road to independence, and when it took its very first steps as an independent state, it was faced with an unpretentious attitude by Greece, which began from the premise that Macedonia represented a danger to Balkan stability, that such a state must not be accepted, and that the international community must not recognize such a state. These views later evolved into somewhat different views that were presented at the European Union summit in Lisbon where, instead of fully denying the state's existence, they denied the name of the state and requested that a state containing the word "Macedonia" in its name should not be recognized.

This position further evolved and a request was made to change the Constitution of the state. There were some changes as to whether the state should be recognized or not. What has changed and why?

Defeat of the Embargo

First, as you know, the negotiating process is gaining momentum, which is leading, at least we hope it is leading, toward a broader solution of the tragic situation in other parts of the Balkans and the dreadful wars that are being waged. This solution is leading toward a definite defeat of the ideas that brought about these critical situations, like ideas for great states, the complete resolution of national questions, new associations in the Balkans or the renewal of old ones, a possible change of borders troubled by violence, the possible creation of new axes and parts of the Balkans, and isolating the Balkans from the European trends and from the trends of the civilization in general. The defeat of these ideas creates a new climate. The solution has not been reached yet, but the defeat of these ideas is definite, as is the victory of an approach that is identical to our first approach, which is that the Balkans can

only be developed if there is a strict respect for the principles on the inviolability of borders, respect for the independence of states, for a solution to the disputed questions, for a dialogue, and noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries.

Another change that has become more clear recently is that the Greek embargo is defeated, and not because the international community condemned it. You all know very well that there is practically not a single country in Europe, that there is practically not a single important political force in the international community, that has not openly condemned the embargo. Nevertheless, that was not the reason for the embargo's defeat. The embargo is not defeated because a court process had started in the European Court. You know that the European Commission started a court hearing against the unilateral Greek embargo, but you also know that European justice in this case did not demonstrate sufficient efficiency, and that is not the reason for the defeat. The reason for the defeat was the wrong assessments made on Macedonia's capability to survive as an independent and organized state. The assessment that the embargo would break Macedonia in two or three months was as wrong as the assessments a couple of years ago that Macedonia could not survive as an independent state for economic reasons. These assessments were made at a time when there were neither sanctions nor embargoes, not even a war, and it was proven that even under conditions of a total blockade, under the embargo that blocked the southern border, Macedonia could survive not just for two or three months but for a limitless time, and could even achieve results in its economic plan in spite of the enormous damages that these blockades had caused.

The defeat of the idea to lift the embargo, the defeat of other ideas in the region that could endanger the existence of the Republic of Macedonia, and the changing of the whole picture in the Balkans made everyone face reality: The recognition of this state cannot be a dilemma for anyone, as well as its independence, its survival as an independent state that does not intend to join new alliances, new associations, and new divisions in the Balkans. This enabled us to begin solving our relations with Greece because there is an awareness that it is a must and that there are no chances for this independent state to be destroyed.

Two Approaches

There had been several phases in negotiations between the two countries. The negotiations were continuing, then the new Greek Government interrupted the negotiations in New York, after which the embargo and the known blockades followed. However, two approaches

had differentiated in all these phases: The one was the Greek approach that discussions should be led on three questions that Greece considered to be important. It referred to the name of the state, some articles of the Constitution, and the flag.

Our approach was that, first of all, we cannot expect to make a solution that will somehow endanger the national identity of the state or that will place any of the sides in an unequal position, and, in particular, that force must not be used to impose a name on a state that has been using it throughout its history.

Second, our approach was that there cannot be discussions on isolated questions, that normalization in the relations between the two countries can only be reached with a broad agreement on all the aspects of mutual relations. We cannot speak of a normalization of relations between two countries if all elements in the relations are not taken into account and if an agreement is not reached on all of them, that is, an agreement that will foster a normal trend in future relations. First of all, it is indispensable to recognize loud and clear the independence of the state, its territorial integrity, and internationally accepted borders.

Both countries must commit themselves to respecting the principles on the inviolability of borders, the territorial integrity of the states, independence, and noninterference in internal affairs. We repeat, and that was our constant view at that time and still is, that there cannot be a demand for changing some articles of a state's constitution simply because they have not been interpreted correctly. It is wrong to claim that articles of a state constitution contain territorial aspirations, territorial pretensions, that they contain intentions for interference into internal affairs and thus endanger the stability of the region, knowing that Macedonia has, and it always had, a very clear view on the contents of its Constitution, as well as its articles, and we have many times repeated here, in this parliament, as well as in international institutions, that these articles do not contain any territorial aspirations. The general policy of Macedonia, as well as the determinations of its parliament, do not contain any territorial aspirations or any intentions to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, according to international regulations and acts. It has never been disputed, and it will never be, that this is what our Constitution means, and it is without any dilemma that what we have been repeating all these years after the adoption of the Constitution is true. Nevertheless, we cannot decide to change the articles just because someone is misinterpreting them. We know who is authorized to interpret the articles of the Constitution, beyond which there cannot be any discussions.

At the same time, we also believed, and we still do, that an indispensable condition for normalizing relations between the two countries is a guarantee for free movement of the people, as well as goods, for a free border crossing, as this is the case with all civilized countries in Europe.

We cannot speak of normalizing relations if free traffic is obstructed by any means or if unilateral embargoes are introduced. We must be very clear about solving the relations between the two countries because such unilateral acts will not be accepted in the future if we really aspire to good relations between the two countries.

It is also essential to reach an agreement, and for the other countries in Europe it has always been normal after Europe started the road of democracy and European integrations, that the two states must agree on full respect for human rights, cultural rights, as well as the rights of the citizens to be free in expressing their identity in conformity with all international norms and conventions. This is something that is truly indispensable if we are to speak about an agreement on relations between the two countries.

It is also indispensable to allow free contacts among the people across the border on all levels, to secure free traffic across the border, and since Macedonia is a country without an exit to the sea, all rules of international law must be respected, particularly the convention on the rights to the sea, on free access to ports and all the other rights that the international community has noted in the international documents. It is imperative to foster development and involve joint efforts in developing the communications between the two countries, to simplify the border crossing this year, or in the near future, as is the case with all European borders.

I believe that for this free traffic it is essential, because of all our previous experiences, that we have some international guarantees.

To develop the relations between the two countries, there are questions that cannot be avoided, and no responsible government or political structure is avoiding them any more, that the environment is of common concern, that protection of environment, particularly of the lakes that are shared by the two countries, the lakes of Dojran and Prespa, must be of common concern, on which we must agree.

It is also critical that we reach an agreement on broad cooperation in education, science, and culture. Without this cooperation, the path to Europeanizing the Balkans could be endangered.

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It is also of particular importance to reach an agreement on not interfering in other countries' relations. Our view is that bilateral relations among countries must not be an obstacle for another country. It is extremely important that we accept this principle and stop all attempts to block our relations with other countries. It is perhaps even more important that the right to veto not be abused when our access to international organizations is at stake, to which we have a full right, including our cooperation with international organizations. The veto right must not be abused in our inclusion into the OSCE, the "Partnership for Peace" program, in NATO in the future, in our cooperation with the European Union, and our associated and full membership to the Union. The natural right of Macedonia is in Europe, and it is the natural place of all the Balkan countries. There cannot be long-lasting peace and stability in the Balkans if we all do not find our place there, and it is in the interest of every Balkan country to support European integration and Euro-Atlantic integration because only then can we reach long-lasting peace and stability in the Balkans.

These are the points that we believe are indispensable. They must be included and agreed upon, and I believe that we are on the right road.

In critical times for the whole region, it is very important to realize that both countries, that is, Greece and Macedonia, show a high responsibility for the future, for one's own citizens, and for future generations. Without this, it is impossible to back out of the corner, and this is a threat for the Balkans.

There Are Neither Winners Nor Losers

It is also of great importance to realize that in solving this dispute, we should not look for winners or losers. If we set off with the intention to find a winner or a loser, it will mean that we accept the policy that is being conducted in other parts of the Balkans, which led to war and which I hope has been rejected throughout the Balkans.

We cannot look for winners or losers because we are speaking about developing good, long-term relations between the two countries, as well as with all the

other countries in the Balkans. There cannot be good, long-term relations if any of the sides feels humiliated, deprived of justice, or placed into an unequal position.

We cannot speak of winners and losers, particularly because this is one of the questions and chances that is offering victory to both sides. As a result of solving the relations between the two countries, the basic determinations of civilization will win, that is, the interests of the citizens of both countries will win. The citizens on both sides of the border will win if this miserable dispute is solved.

In order to find a solution for such situations, courage is certainly indispensable. It is not courageous if we aspire to grandiose goals such as occupying new territories, war, or magnificent ideals, which are eventually revealed as having nothing to do with courage but rather greed and personal interests, and, as you can see, often end in cowardice.

It is necessary to find the courage to realize that both sides have to take steps toward one another. Both sides must be ready for dialogue, for concessions whenever it is impossible and wherever it does not endanger the vital interests of the nation and the state.

This kind of courage is essential in order to have a clear vision for the future. I am convinced that this parliament, which has often demonstrated courage, will be brave enough to see the future of all of us when we shall have to make the final decision on the resolution of this dispute.

This is the first piece of information, and as being such, I would ask you to understand it. There is going to be a very dynamic and sensitive process in the coming days and weeks, and you will have the opportunity to express your views on the solutions that we are advocating, to either accept or reject them, and you will be able to express your full opinion.

Since the information is the first of its kind, and because there will soon be an ample discussion on this in parliament, the government recommends that the parliament not discuss this new procedure.

Walesa Gives First of Weekly Briefings

LD0609130295 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program
Network in Polish 1200 GMT 6 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Lech Walesa said at a news conference that Poland has no choice but to join the European Union and NATO. The president disagreed with the view expressed by Deputy Defense Minister Andrzej Karkoszka, who said yesterday that what is needed is a public debate on the possible consequences of Polish NATO membership.

[Unidentified correspondent] At the first in a series of foreign policy briefings the president presented the results of his foreign policy in his first term of office. According to President Walesa, our entry into the EU is being delayed because Poland and the West differ too much in their economies. As for NATO, we should join the alliance right now because we fulfill the conditions for membership.

President Walesa thinks that NATO expansion will protect Europe from division into two and will alleviate all tensions. The president emphasized the role played by Germany in our attempts to integrate with Europe. At the same time, he said Poland wants to have good relations with its eastern neighbors.

Stressing that he wishes to separate his presidential activities from the electoral campaign, he agreed to reply to a few questions about the election. He said that we should not expect any of the right-wing candidates to step down even if they discover that they have poor support. Walesa emphasized that the next term of office will be more difficult and that the people should be extremely cautious about electing a new president.

Defers to Ministry To Comment on N-Test

LD0609130395 Warsaw PAP in Polish
1235 GMT 6 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 6 Sep—The first of the weekly news conferences by President Lech Walesa was held in Warsaw on Wednesday. [passage omitted]

The president, when asked to give his view on the French nuclear test, said that, as a Nobel Peace Prize winner, he was against any solutions involving use of force but, as regards the official Polish view, in this case it had to be expressed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Sejm Speaker Addresses Nation on Election Date

LD0609195395 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program
Network in Polish 1800 GMT 6 Sep 95

[Nationwide address by Polish Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Ladies and gentlemen: I hereby announce that today, acting under the provisions of the Constitutional Act of 17 October 1992 and the Act on the Election of the President of the Polish Republic, I ordained that presidential elections be held on 5 November of this year.

Should none of the candidates obtain the required majority on that day, the second round of the elections will take place on 19 November.

The ordinance on the date of the elections and the proper election schedules will be published in the next issue of the Legislative Journal. [passage omitted]

Ladies and gentlemen: As Sejm Speaker and the person responsible by virtue of my office for ordaining presidential elections, I feel it is my duty to keep a watchful eye on the course of the presidential campaign. One cannot fail to notice that, in recent weeks, in spite of the fact that the presidential campaign has not officially begun, there have been violations of the Electoral Law, and polemics between persons intending to run for the office of president have intensified in a factually unwarranted manner. That is not a good omen for the atmosphere of the campaign, and it does not benefit the substantive discussion on the most important issues of the Polish Republic.

Some of the candidates, instead of indicating the manner in which they are proposing to resolve the complex economic and social problems of our country and in conjunction with which state bodies, have been announcing that, after their electoral victory, they will dissolve parliament, with the objective of changing the current political arrangement. That is a dangerous statement when delivered by a candidate for the post of president of the Polish Republic, who is to guard the observance of the Constitution. Such intentions are none other than a lack of respect for the law. It is an announcement of the intention to violate the Constitution, an announcement that cannot be successful in a democratic Poland. The current Constitution does not give the newly elected president any legal grounds for dissolving the Sejm or the Senate merely because a presidential election has taken place.

In a democratic country, the parliamentary composition can only be changed as a result of democratic elections—something every political party and every

citizen can strive toward. The Constitution clearly lays down the instances when the president of the Polish Republic, including a newly elected president, can dissolve parliament. [passage omitted]

In ordaining the election date, as speaker of the Sejm of the Polish Republic, I call on every candidate to strictly observe the Electoral Law, the principles of political ethics, and dignity and responsibility. Poland faces too many difficult problems that all of us have to resolve. Our reborn democracy cannot be endlessly subjected to upheavals that are also caused by the bending and the bypassing of the law for immediate political expediency, not to mention its violation. [passage omitted]

"X" Party Leader Tyminski To Run in Election

WS0609135595 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA
in Polish 5 Sep 95 p 3

[Article by PINA: "Tyminski Runs Again; Candidate From Internet"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The main slogan of the campaign waged by the leader of the "X" Party is "Poland for Poles." During a news conference yesterday, Stanislaw Tyminski said that, as a businessman, he would prefer to give his \$100,000 to another candidate, but he "cannot see an appropriate one." Therefore, he took the \$100,000 from his bank account and came to Poland. He will pay \$1 for each signature supporting his candidacy.

Tyminski believes that "the voters who voted for him en masse in the previous elections are in a worse situation now, and they will therefore support him for sure." Although he has been away for such a long time, he knows Polish problems very well because he "has Internet connections with Poles and, thanks to that, knows everything."

The only specific proposal submitted by Tyminski was the floating of the U.S. dollar exchange rate (so that it could change along with inflation); it is the same idea he presented five years ago. He seemed to ignore journalists, who told him that the exchange rate had already been floated.

Tyminski added that his slogan of "Poland for Poland" does not mean discrimination against national minorities, even though "it must be said openly that the Democratic Union (this was the name of the Freedom Union before Tyminski left the country—editor's note) consists largely of the Jewish minority." Just like five years ago, the candidate announced that he would "open black cases and bags" and reveal materials discrediting his rivals, particularly Lech Walesa. Despite that, at the end of his first news conference, he wished that the cam-

paign would be conducted "without slander, lies, and lawsuits."

Walesa Aide Interviewed on Work, Campaign

WS0609122295 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA
in Polish 6 Sep 95 pp 1-2

[Interview with Andrzej Zakrzewski, minister of state in the Polish President's Chancellery, by Kazimierz Groblewski; place and date not given: "Stocktaking in the Presidency"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Groblewski] You will have a lot of power now.

[Zakrzewski] No, that is not true. The post I am holding involves playing politics, not wielding power. This should have been introduced a long time ago. As the head of the office of presidential political services, I will supervise not only the work of my office, but also the work of the press spokesman and the activity of the International Office, i.e. foreign affairs.

[Groblewski] What do you need all this for now that Lech Walesa's term is running out?

[Zakrzewski] I am a loyal civil servant who works not for Lech Walesa but for the president of the Republic of Poland. I am not taking part in the president's election campaign. What I would like to do, however, is to make an honest, thorough, and objective recapitulation of his presidency. This recapitulation should also contain words of criticism, including words of self-criticism. I would like to say what he did and what he failed to do and why. It would be some sort of stocktaking. It is my duty, after all. However, I believe that it is also a duty of the president—a duty to the people who elected him to this post.

[Groblewski] Will the results of this "stocktaking" come in handy to the president in the election campaign?

[Zakrzewski] As I have said before, I am not participating in the campaign. However, it is no secret that, if the president is running in the elections, his presidency is naturally an element of the campaign.

[Groblewski] From the formal point of view, you have more power now than Mieczyslaw Wachowski had.

[Zakrzewski] No, not power. More duties.

[Groblewski] Who has taken over Wachowski's informal connections with the Armed Forces and the special services?

[Zakrzewski] I do not know anything about any informal connections Mieczyslaw Wachowski had so I will not talk about them.

[Groblewski] Why did Leszek Spalinski split with the Chancellery?

[Zakrzewski] Because of the conflicts that arose at that time, the president decided to gave up the services of two aides. I know that people linked to the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms do not rule out the possibility of employing Leszek Spalinski as press spokesman.

[Groblewski] Something is ending. Lech Walesa's term of office is running out. As a historian, do you see an atmosphere of decline in Walesa's entourage?

[Zakrzewski] You will not see this outside. However, when I am talking to my close aides, I do feel that a certain intellectual adventure, which working here certainly was, is ending.

[Groblewski] When one listens to what the president has recently been saying about Wachowski, when one hears him stress that they were and will remain friends, one can get the impression that Walesa already regrets that he has recalled him.

[Zakrzewski] Lech Walesa is a very complex personality. He is a man totally engrossed in politics. It leaves him time for nothing else. He also has very little time left for his personal life, for family life. This is why there are very few people who are close friends of Lech Walesa. Mieczyslaw Wachowski was certainly one of them.

[Groblewski] This means that it is possible that he regrets his decision now?

[Zakrzewski] I do not know.

[Groblewski] Recently Lech Walesa has not had many reasons for satisfaction: His rating in opinion polls is deteriorating; the Christian-National Union has not endorsed him; Solidarity has not supported him so far, either; he has fired his best friend; and, on top of that, his son caused a car accident after drinking alcohol. Everything seems to be against the president. One might become discouraged. Is Lech Walesa not discouraged?

[Zakrzewski] Lech Walesa happens to be one of those people who are not easily discouraged by failures. Above all, I believe it will not be encouragement from campaign staffs that will finally convince voters to cast their votes—with the exception of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] electorate and, partially, Polish Peasant Party voters.

[Groblewski] However, one does need campaign staff to do a lot of work.

[Zakrzewski] That is right; they are needed to organize rallies, to take care of the propaganda. Now, Lech

Walesa does not have to present himself in this manner. He has decided—and he told me this himself—that his election campaign will be very modest and limited.

[Groblewski] Do you think he will win the presidential election?

[Zakrzewski] There are four most viable candidates: Gronkiewicz-Waltz, Kuron, Kwasniewski, and Walesa. All of them are people of certain charisma. The first one because she is a woman, the last one because he is still a living legend of Solidarity's years-long battle. I believe that, in the second round, we will see Kwasniewski and Walesa. Here is what the president has been saying recently: If you vote for someone else, you will vote for the SLD leader.

[Groblewski] Why should people vote for Walesa?

[Zakrzewski] Because people know what Walesa is like, whereas all of the other candidates are a certain unknown. It is no secret that the fact that Walesa lacks textbook knowledge is his biggest advantage. Walesa is a political animal; his political senses are perfect; some people draw attention to his political sense of smell, as well as some luck. I would only add that he is firm and efficient.

[Groblewski] The fact that people know him may be a disadvantage to him.

[Zakrzewski] This depends on how Walesa is presented in the election campaign. My evaluation of his activity as president is positive but, after all, it is not I who will evaluate it.

[Groblewski] Do you not get the impression that Poland has already learned how to function without Lech Walesa, that Lech Walesa is working here at the palace...

[Zakrzewski] Can you really imagine a "Wiadomosci" newscast without Lech Walesa, without even a short report?

[Groblewski] Indeed, this is quite difficult to imagine. This makes me even more curious to know whether it is not so that he is here in the Belweder, makes some decisions, but in fact people are no longer interested in them.

[Zakrzewski] First, personnel decisions regarding the Chancellery are an internal affair of the Chancellery, and it is a very good thing that there are not many people who are interested in them. However, it is a fact that presidential candidates differ on everything but agree on one thing: Hit Walesa. As he says: Beat the master.

[Grobowski] Let me ask the question differently then. Do you think the world can continue to go around without Lech Walesa? Is it not going around any longer?

[Zakrzewski] Let me tell you a story. We went to the summit meeting of the rich and the poor in Copenhagen. We went into the building and walked down the long corridors. Then a throng of shaykhs, princes, presidents, and kings leaped to Lech Walesa to take a photograph, to shake hands, or to talk to him for a while. This is because, on the international scene, Lech Walesa is still the man from the covers of magazines, a man holding a big pen. No other Polish politician would have triggered such a reaction. He would have been just a politician among many others.

[Grobowski] What do you think Lech Walesa is doing now while we are having this conversation?

[Zakrzewski] At the moment? He is looking through the press, the correspondence related to the visit of the national defense minister and the chief of staff. He has the text of his platform speech on his desk. He is getting ready for a meeting with the new Polish ambassador to Israel.

[Grobowski] Is the president planning to deliver a speech on television?

[Zakrzewski] It is not known yet whether it will be a television speech. He will present his thoughts and reflections on current state affairs.

Minister on Equipment Purchase for Armed Forces
WS0609134495 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA
(Gazeta na Salon supplement) in Polish 6 Sep 95 p 2

[Interview with Polish Defense Minister Zbigniew Okonski by Pawel Wronski; place and date not given: "Who Will Provide Equipment to the Polish Armed Forces?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Wronski] This year, employees of the arms-industry sector staged a manifestation in front of the premises of the Office of the Council of Ministers [URM]. They claimed that insufficient orders for their products would make the entire industry branch go bankrupt. Do you think they will appear in front of the URM premises next year as well?

[Okonski] The final decisions will be made this fall, when the budget of the National Defense Ministry [MON] is finally approved. I do hope, however, that the situation will improve next year. The first signs of improvement in the arms industry can be seen even now.

One fact is indubitable: Our Armed Forces must receive new equipment and arms. There is also another thing: It is possible to get the equipment and arms first of all

from Polish defense industry plants. Of course, there are various types of arms we do not manufacture in Poland—for example, some types of aircraft. In this case, we have no choice but to buy foreign-made products. However, in an overwhelming majority of cases, the Polish arms industry is capable of satisfying the needs of the Polish Armed Forces.

[Wronski] A year ago there was also talk about the need to increase spending on the purchase of equipment. However, nothing was done.

[Okonski] Last spring the Sejm decided that, in 1997, defense spending would go up to 3 percent of the gross domestic product. I am an advocate of reaching this sum not at once but step by step. The Armed Forces have to buy new equipment anyway. A delay in implementing this process means costs: political (we will lose credibility as a NATO partner); social (work forces will stage protests); and economic (the financial conditions of companies will deteriorate).

The arms industry is a national property; thus, the money earmarked for this industry will return to the State Treasury as equipment for the Armed Forces, which, after all, are financed by the state. The government will not have to spend money on the liquidation of companies and on unemployment benefits. All of this is logical. I hope the government will share my view.

[Wronski] Do the Armed Forces know what they want to buy?

[Okonski] Provision of new equipment to the Armed Forces will take 15 to 20 years. We, however, are preparing a purchase schedule for the next five years. Of course, implementation of this schedule depends, among other things, on how much money we receive this year. The priorities are well known here. First of all, what we need are antitank missile systems, antiaircraft systems, tactical radio sets, and a wheeled transporter [transporter kolowy]. Of course, the programs that have been implemented so far should not be abandoned, such as the purchase of the Huzar assault helicopter.

[Wronski] MON is still inviting bids for the sale of some types of arms and equipment, and some bidding processes have already been completed. Among those who have submitted their offers are Bofors; Milan, a consortium that manufactures missiles; Ericsson; and Thomson. All of them are very big manufacturers.

[Okonski] The equipment we are being offered is state-of-the-art technology. Indeed, the first stage of the bidding process has ended; now we are looking carefully at the prices, offers of cooperation, principles of financing and lending money for the purchases. We want as much of this equipment as possible to be manufactured

in Poland. We are also offering our equipment or the possibility of manufacturing subassemblies.

Such cooperation means not only smaller expenditures on the purchase of technologies but also an injection of new technologies for our arms industry.

[Wronski] In the Mesko plant in Skarzysko-Kamienna, I saw machines that manufactured ammunition for our Army that fought the Germans in 1939. In this context, it is ironic to talk about new technologies.

[Okonski] What you have said is not so. The situation in Mesko is difficult. However, I believe that a contract for the delivery of antitank and antiaircraft missiles would restore economic health to the factory in no time at all. In the case of the arms industry, it is not the production halls and machines that count the most. Halls can be built, machines can be bought abroad; however, it is impossible to get an entire work force abroad. Those people are right there, and they are skilled enough to manufacture the most modern equipment.

[Wronski] How much is this going to cost?

[Okonski] Far less than is generally believed. Right now there is stagnation in the global arms trade. As a matter of fact, we will be one of the few armies that will buy entirely new equipment. Even the greatest concerns are dreaming about a big contract in Poland and are ready to make considerable concessions and to offer preferential terms to capture this market. There are concrete examples already. I was engaged in the trade in special products for a very long time. I really know the ropes. I believe that right now we stand a big chance of modernizing the defense industry.

Air Force Chief Views Purchase of New Planes

WS0709104095 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
2 Sep 95 p 9

[Interview with Jerzy Gotowala, commander in chief of the Polish Air Force and Air Defense pilot, by Ewa Wilk and Wojciech Kiss-Orski; place and date not given: "Dream Machine"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [POLITYKA] General, following the statement made on 14 August by the chief of the General Staff, the Army has vociferously spoken up for its needs and received the support of ever stronger advocates, including the president. Earlier, however, just after the series of plane crashes, there were rumors that the Army is purchasing modern Western airplanes. Are you buying them, or are these only plans and dreams?

[Gotowala] They are still plans, made with the awareness that part of the store of aircraft that is morally [as published] and technically used up will have to be re-

placed. As anywhere in the world, 25 percent of the equipment we have is new, but there is also a large portion of equipment that has been in service for 15, 18, or 20 years. We would like to obtain at least 18 new airplanes in the next two to four years. We are currently testing the technical capabilities and investigating the conditions of purchase of four types of airplanes to replace those now being used: the American F-16, the French Mirage 2000, the Russian Su-27 and the Swedish Gripen.

[POLITYKA] Would you care to provide more details about the procedure for selecting the best option? Some say the military is behaving as if it were in a fantasy toy store. Still others claim it has gotten entangled in a rotten game of sharply competing firms.

[Gotowala] Army experts are studying two things: quality and cost. Like all modern armies, we are planning on having versatile airplanes, both for air combat and for the destruction of ground targets. The economic factors are difficult to tackle, primarily because of the domestic economic situation. In addition to initial purchase costs, maintenance costs also have to be considered. Russian aircraft are seemingly less expensive. Yet, if we look at the service life (the overall life of parts before they are repaired or replaced), Western equipment is unbeatable; the service life is extensive, with minimal need for replacement of parts and numerous and easy to use flight control instruments, and fuel consumption is low.

[POLITYKA] How much would it cost to buy Western airplanes as opposed to Russian airplanes to replace those withdrawn from service?

[Gotowala] A Russian MiG-29 costs \$20-24 million, whereas Western airplanes cost \$26-30 million.

[POLITYKA] Yet the purchase of Western planes is a serious operation that would require retraining ground maintenance staff. Wouldn't that be costly?

[Gotowala] Correct. Bear in mind, however, that the Su-27, which remains within the focus of our attention, is also a new generation plane. The entire ground infrastructure would have to be replaced and the staff retrained.

[POLITYKA] What additional outlays have to be made before an airplane can fly in our Air Force?

[Gotowala] Cost simulation is a rather complicated process. If the airplanes are to be versatile, then, by necessity, the number of aircraft and personnel in the Air Force will have to be reduced.

[POLITYKA] Please give us an inkling of what is going on: Are representatives of these aircraft corporations

visiting you? Is there any pressure from NATO or from politicians?

[Gotowala] On the basis of our own research and observations, we have been able to outline a preliminary overview of the costs and possible options. Delegations representing various manufacturers have been visiting us, providing more detail in the course of two-day sessions of lectures, for instance. We have directed these foreign delegations to Rzeszow, Mielec, Swidnik, and Okecie so that, while they are there, they can look into the possibilities of establishing cooperation with Polish industry. Our experts have traveled to the United States, France, Sweden, and Russia. The air show in Deblin was designed as a last stage in preparation for the decision. The documentation is already complete.

[POLITYKA] Can we expect a definite decision this year?

[Gotowala] I doubt it. This year's military budget will not be able to bear such an expense.

[POLITYKA] Where, in the future, will the 18 times \$25 million be procured?

[Gotowala] That is a difficult issue.

[POLITYKA] Perhaps these large manufacturers will be inclined to grant big promotional rebates?

[Gotowala] We have been holding talks for two years now. Our Western partners are beginning to understand that our needs and possibilities are not as great as they may have thought just a few years ago. On the other hand, the French and the Americans already have a large number of manufactured planes ready for immediate sale. I have the impression that prices have been slowly dropping. At least we have signs that prices can be discussed. We are getting more and more serious proposals of cooperation with Polish industry, for supplying airplanes manufactured in Poland with Western-made aviation electronics.

[POLITYKA] This confirms the supposition that corporations are fiercely competing with each other. One hears that clients customarily receive 2-3 percent off each contract for their private pockets.

[Gotowala] Our partners are well aware that they will not strike the contract of the century in Poland. I doubt whether they think along those lines.

[POLITYKA] You have flown in all of these types of planes. Is any one of these your favorite?

[Gotowala] Every type has its faults and its merits. The F-16 makes the best impression, especially its aviation electronics. The Mirage 2000 can be appreciated for its versatility. I would place the Su-27 in third place for its

outstanding maneuverability. As far as operational use goes, I would once again go for the F-16. The engine installation life is 3,000 hours, whereas the installation life spans we have been accustomed to are 250 hours.

[POLITYKA] So it is the F-16 after all. Two years ago [Defense] Minister Kolodziejczyk went for talks to Turkey, where the F-16 is produced under license.

[Gotowala] The license bearers imposed restrictions as to purchases in Turkey at that time. Nevertheless, it is true that the purchase of Western-made aircraft came up over and over and was at one point within grasp and then was blocked for one reason—summarized in a word: budget.

[POLITYKA] There were apprehensions that that the Army is bowing to political pressure and suggesting that you are eliminating the Russians right from the very start.

[Gotowala] If we are heading toward NATO, the point seems obvious. The most important thing now is coordination at the command level and common knowledge of English. But sooner or later it will be necessary to standardize equipment as well.

[POLITYKA] The Polish arms industry, with its powerful lobby, could well be an ally of the Army. But it is precisely the arms industry that has raised accusations that the Army is demanding expensive toys instead of patriotically supporting domestic enterprise. Is it true that the Army does not want to work on the Iryda [airplane] to continue, a plane that was built with such effort?

[Gotowala] Our intention has been to have an airplane not only for training purposes but also for combat—that is, it would hang over the heads of ground forces and destroy targets on orders from the Army command staff. But the plane's range and load capacity are too small. A fine plane it would seem, yet not as purebred as one would like. The plane has been rebuilt time and time again for the past 20 years. I am really concerned with maintaining the aircraft industry in Poland; however, it should recognize that nowadays clients not only base their choice on the country and name of the manufacturer but also demand that their requirements be met.

[POLITYKA] Yet the industry has accused the Army of acting whimsically, which can only be explained by someone's dishonest bribes to the Army. Because you wanted better aviation electronics, the industry has said, we have opened a contest and have chosen the French company Sagem. Your response has been negative; you would rather have Bendix.

[Gotowala] Partly true. Only that the Iryda costs 70 billion zlotys (Z), and...Z140 billion with Sagem aviation electronics. I said, that's enough, gentlemen, let's simplify the aviation equipment so we can fit within Z100 billion. This bargaining has continued.

[POLITYKA] Isn't Bendix bribing the Army, then?

[Gotowala] Though Sagem won the contest, it still must conform to our requirements. We truly do not want to depreciate the value of the Iryda but want it to be a good airplane.

[POLITYKA] The industry expects you to purchase at least 40 airplanes.

[Gotowala] We can afford only three per year.

[POLITYKA] But when the Army insists on the F-16, they yell still louder: Buy the Iryda! There is even a widespread opinion that, if purchases of the F-16 are made, the Mielec factory will shut down.

[Gotowala] For people who are not well informed, this may sound like a catchy slogan. They are, in fact, completely different machines, meant for different purposes.

[POLITYKA] Is the Polish arms industry capable of producing modern combat aircraft?

[Gotowala] We can manage with the propulsion unit and fuselage, but, as far as aviation electronics and the remote control air attack systems are concerned, we must work together with Western industries. Every Polish aircraft company has its own models, and there is continual vying for supremacy: the Kobra, Pirania, Szerszen [Hornet], and Skorpion. If all these efforts were combined, Polish industry would be able to produce a good airplane.

[POLITYKA] Perhaps this is all a game of honor—just to prove to the world what Poles can do....

[Gotowala] There is good reason for that opinion. It would be pointless to produce only a few machines for the Polish Air Force.

[POLITYKA] Then why was the Skorpion built?

[Gotowala] We had counted on the interest of the Hungarians, Romanians, Slovaks, and Czechs.

[POLITYKA] And, in doing so, created a memorial to the Warsaw Pact? Perhaps it would be wiser to join the Anglo-French-Italian-German Eurofighter program?

[Gotowala] A prototype of the Eurofighter has already been shown; everybody is waiting for a decision of the governments of the four countries engaged in the project. If, however, the project is not accepted, it

seems that the Western countries will adopt the option proposed by the Americans.

[POLITYKA] General, you have a sense how the shortages in one field or another affect one another. This is probably something shared by all generals, and doubts come to mind as to the apolitical character of the Army. Aren't you turning toward the political forces that offer the most generous promises?

[Gotowala] For the past few years, I have sensed an excellent mood, a sort of joy, that the neutrality of the Army is so easy to make use of. Army skills are what count. I am aware of the dangers. Yet the command staff all too well enjoys equidistance from all political forces to give that up. [answer as published]

[POLITYKA] Will no politician gain the loyalty of the Air Force by buying it F-16's?

[Gotowala] I doubt it.

[POLITYKA] Thank you for the interview.

Committee Approves Gas Sector Reform Plan

WS0709094095 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA
in Polish 5 Sep 95 p 15

[Article by Artur Morka: "From Monopoly to Holding Company"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *After a few years of stagnation, things have started to change in the gas sector. A plan of transforming the Polish Gas and Oil Mining (PGNiG) into a holding company was approved yesterday by the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers.*

According to Deputy Minister of Industry Roman Czerwinski, restructuring of the gas monopoly and passage of the power industry law will make it easier for foreign gas companies to enter our market. "Only then will there be conditions for real competition in the sale of gas for noninstitutional customers," Czerwinski believes. The draft of the new power industry law will first have to go through the legislative process in the Sejm. However, the deputy minister is hoping that it will enter into force in early 1996.

Transformations of the gas sector have been under way for five years now. In 1993, the Antimonopoly Office even ordered that the company be divided, which would "create conditions for competition." In June 1993, the first plan of restructuring the company was worked out. It was followed by several other documents, but the government has not dealt with any of them so far.

The main points of the restructuring approved yesterday provide that the process will take place in three stages:

- Transformation of the PGNiG into a single-proprietor Treasury-owned company, "which is of special importance to the economy"; due to such a provision, the company will be under special supervision of the state, which, in practice, will limit privatization possibilities, for instance.
- Separation of the so-called ancillary and service companies (construction firms, companies providing geophysical services, and drilling firms) from the PGNiG; these companies are to be privatized later on.
- Division of the PGNiG into two companies: Polish Oil Mining SA, a company dealing with searching for and extracting gas and oil, and the Polish Gas SA, which would deal with exploitation of gas pipelines.

The last stage would be completed in 1998. Will the company be privatized? According to the Industry

Ministry, this will be decided by "gas and electricity prices, as well as by introduction of the power industry law and the law on holding companies."

Right now the debt of the company constitutes as much as 30 percent of its turnover value. According to Deputy Minister Czerwinski, the debts result from the modernization of gas machines and network, which is expensive. Aside from that, creditors of the company [as published] are in arrears to the tune of 2 trillion old zlotys.

"It is very difficult to modernize a company when machinery prices are on the world level and gas prices are not," Minister Czerwinski explained yesterday.

Therefore, revenues from privatization of some of the companies that are now part of the PGNiG are to be allocated for investments in this company.

Defense Minister Discusses NATO Integration

AU0609150895 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 31 Aug 95 p 2

[Interview with Defense Minister Gheorghe Tinca by Roxana Badralexi; place and date not given: "There Are Two Countries in Central Europe Whose Armies Matter: Poland and Romania"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Badralexi] Mr. Tinca, how do you get along with the soldiers?

[Tinca] I get along excellently with the soldiers. This does not mean that I have a comfortable armchair in which I sit back for my siesta. The Romanian Army was not reticent about the idea of a civilian leadership. The explanation for this is the fact that, compared to the other armies of the former Warsaw Pact, the Romanian Army was the most open. Certainly, to the extent that was possible at that time. There was also precedence in this respect in Romania before World War II, when we had civilian war ministers.

[Badralexi] How do you explain the fact that in the institution that you head, where until a few years ago people were speaking Russian fluently and not English, and which, through its character is a more conservative body, is one of the few institutions of our country for which the European and NATO integration is the only acceptable path to follow?

[Tinca] It was not a bad thing to speak Russian. And the political orientation does not derive from the language that one speaks. When people were speaking Russian, and they are still doing so, it was not a sign of the ideology that they used to have or have today. If somebody studied in another country, it does not mean that in this way he betrayed his country....

[Badralexi] Not always.

[Tinca] You force me to remind you that modern Romania has been built by people educated in Paris, London, and other places. Nevertheless, they have stayed great patriots. Therefore, I do not see why, if somebody is educated in Moscow, one must by all means assume that he has lost his Romanian feelings.

[Badralexi] Let me tell you why. Those who have been educated in Paris were not forced to adopt an ideology, while those who were educated in Moscow were.

[Tinca] I am sorry, but all the Romanians who were educated in Bucharest for example, were forced to adopt the Stalinist or Marxist ideology.

[Badralexi] Only those who left for Moscow were the ones who adapted in the best way to the ideology

brought over by the Russians: They were in fact the best and most trustworthy communists in Romania.

[Tinca] Maybe some of the worst ones also stayed behind in Romania.

The Army Took Seriously the Order on NATO Integration

[Badralexi] Did the Army take seriously the order on NATO integration?

[Tinca] The Army took seriously the political decision of integration into NATO. And considering that in our case orders are not discussed but executed, we are striving to execute it to the best of our abilities.

[Badralexi] Who gave the order for integration?

[Tinca] The Army does not impose solutions or political decisions. The Army executes political decision taken by the parliament or other bodies.

[Badralexi] Do you, as a civilian leader of the Army, have the role of its ideological leader?

[Tinca] The civilian leadership of the Army derives from the logic of a democratic system. Before the war, we had 15 civilian leaders in the Army. We are talking about a concept that allows the Army to be professional outside the political aspect. Certainly, it has to have relations with the other institutions of our society. Therefore, in order not to involve the soldier in this social or political negotiation, an interface should be created for him. The civilian minister of the Army is, if you wish, a buffer between society and the Army. We introduced a civilian minister of the Army not to please somebody, but when we felt the need for such an act.

[Badralexi] That is, a lightning rod.

[Tinca] Something like that. You see, it is wrong to place a general in parliament to be in charge of interpellations. I believe that it is wrong for a general to participate in negotiations on budget issues. And I also think that it is wrong to have a general engaged in lobbying in the parliament. There is a civilian minister for this purpose. This does not mean that he will take political decisions for the Army. He is only implementing them if he can.

[Badralexi] In this respect, if the Army has a certain orientation, let us say toward integration, if you, according to political declarations, are convinced of the need for this integration and if, let us say, the parliamentary majority decides tomorrow that "it is not the right time" for Romania to "rush" to enter NATO, what would happen in this case?

[Tinca] No doubt that this would be greatly disappointing for the Army because, in the way it works towards this political order of integration, one might draw the conclusion that the Army wants this integration. It hopes for another statute, another prestige, another, fresher atmosphere, in general, other relations that it can acquire on a European level. Everything is connected with the idea of modernity, dignity, and another life. If the parliament would decide to change this orientation, however, you should not expect the Army to impose its viewpoint by force. Of course, the Army would probably make its opinion known in one way or another. But it does not take political decisions.

Today It Fits Us Better To Be Gentlemen

[Badralexi] And would you say anything?

[Tinca] Certainly. The civilian minister, if he is an honest man, should militate for his convictions in the government or the Supreme Council of the Country's Defense. If this conviction does not coincide with the one the parliament, government, or the Supreme Council have decided upon, however, then, in order to continue being an honest man, he will let someone else fulfill those decisions. He should not be an obstacle or a destructive factor in an orientation or a team. Today we are free people, and it fits us better to be gentlemen.

[Badralexi] Please tell me, in your capacity as the political lightning rod, how did you respond to the Russians attitude regarding our decision to enter NATO?

[Tinca] During the talks that I held with them, including with Mr. Grachev, I did hear that they oppose Romania entering NATO, but the expansion of that body. This implies a different nuance. You proceed from the premise that whatever Moscow says is immediately being implemented.

[Badralexi] No at all. I proceed from the premise that what Moscow says is taken into consideration.

[Tinca] By whom?

[Badralexi] By those who count.

[Tinca] Just like people, countries should also take into consideration what they say to each other. Before that, they should listen to one another and talk. Thus, we are talking about a dialogue and not about applause. I wish that we all should count in this dialogue. You are certainly referring to the United States. One should take into account what the Russians say, but not everything they say and everything that the Americans are doing. Retaining only a few things of the positions of the "two big ones," we might also accept the hidden idea that the smaller ones are just objects in the political game and

that NATO expansion depends only on what Russia or NATO want, meaning that we do not count.

[Badralexi] And is that not so?

[Tinca] You do not approach the issue correctly. We are talking about the integration of the Central European countries into the North Atlantic structures. Approaching the problem in this way, you will see that we are talking, on the one hand, about a sovereign decision of each state alone. The differentiation between these countries must be made according to objective factors, that depend on the will of these countries. We belong to those countries that wish the integration and this has been stated repeatedly by President Iliescu, where it had to be stated. And as far as things outside Romania are concerned, there is no doubt that Romania's wish is genuine and that steps are being taken in this respect. Other partner countries have not taken such decisions, so they set up other goals. On the other hand, we are also talking about the decision of the NATO countries among which we integrate. These two are directly related sides, that is, the partners and NATO.

Integration Does Not Depend Only on the Army. If It Were So...

[Badralexi] As far as integration is concerned, have we at least an advantage over other countries in the race?

[Tinca] We do not wish it to be a race, because in any race there is only one winner. A race also has an arbiter.

[Badralexi] And there is no arbiter here?

[Tinca] We wish to have criteria. But let me return to your question on advantage. If we were to discuss this race in terms of the integration of armies, we would have an advantage. Not only institutions, however, but states also become integrated into NATO.

[Badralexi] What do you mean?

[Tinca] That this integration does not depend on the Army alone. We have to develop in a certain way.

[Badralexi] In what way?

[Tinca] Positively.

[Badralexi] Hence, would you say that other components of the state are lagging behind the Army as far as the integration is concerned?

[Tinca] It might be so. Because their situation is more difficult than the Army's. The Army is an institution where there is discipline and a sense of order. In the Army, democracy has a meaning. This situation cannot be found in other areas, in industry or agriculture for example.

[Badralexi] This is precisely what I was asking you. On the whole, do we have any advantage over others or has the Visegrad Group overtaken us a lot, as it appears?

[Tinca] If you wish to find an advantage, you have to take into consideration that there are two countries in central Europe whose armies matter: Poland and Romania. From a military point of view, this is reality. There would be other trumps, too: We have a Constitution that, among other things, also stipulates the civilian control of the army, while other countries have no constitution at all. Apart from it, with the assistance of political parties included in the government arch, but, I have to admit, also with the assistance of the opposition parties, we succeeded in keeping the Army outside the political bickering. This proves that what the role of the Army has been understood. This is a sign that political life is maturing.

[Badralexi] Mr. Minister, do you believe that the Americans see this any advantage for themselves, and implicitly for us, in all this?

[Tinca] It is difficult to say. But one can make some calculations on how one can stir others' interest. The major element that I believe would count is that Romania has a tendency toward balance and stability in this area. This balance comes from a country that, together with Poland, represents some new size in Europe. So far, there have been big, very big, and small countries in NATO. By joining NATO, Poland and Romania would set up a new group. If you follow the chart of our foreign relations, you will see that there is a trump card called stability. We have always had peace and stability in this area. I do not want to also mention our geographic position, which makes us impossible to ignore. A lot depends on us, whether we are regarded in a negative or a positive way.

[Badralexi] And do you believe that these things are known?

[Tinca] Of course! They know everything. They even know more than many of us do. I am certainly referring to the politicians. Because if we are talking about the ordinary U.S. citizen, he indeed is ignorant. Or, what is even worse, he has a distorted image.

[Badralexi] And do the big powers not ignore us?

[Tinca] They might leave you with that impression.

[Badralexi] Nevertheless, the decision of the European Parliament regarding Recommendation 1201 was a offense to us.

[Tinca] That is true, however, this does not mean ignoring us. I am going to tell you a story. In the seventies, when everybody noticed Bulgaria, I was

sitting at a table with an Englishman. I, quite upset, asked him why everybody embraces the Bulgarians, while they crucify us. Do you know what he told me? In a typical English manner, he said: Mister, Bulgaria is not Romania, don't you think it is something different?

We, in the East, Are Changing More Rapidly Than Those in the West

[Badralexi] Could you, very concisely, express what our joining NATO would mean?

[Tinca] Nobody should imagine that, if we join NATO, we will automatically have clean streets and a prosperous life. Indirectly, the security umbrella would also bring us economic advantages, too. However, we should not expect that U.S. troops will come and sweep our streets and repair our fences and houses, while we would be able to continue munching sunflower seeds or make business at their expense. If you wish, for us, it will mean working with our heads and our hands, work with personal, and therefore also collective, advantages. On the other hand, we do not even know what NATO we are going to join. We already have a distorted image about this body. For example, we have learned that NATO means aggressiveness, Yankees, imperialism, and so on and so forth. All these have been left like some residue in people's mind. However, the Cold War is over and we all have to change. I would dare say that we, in the East, change our mentality quicker than those in the West. But in conclusion, I would like this integration to respond to our interests. And our interest is to join a system of alliances that would allow stability for the member countries and, in this way, allow them to solve their problems. Such an umbrella would permit us to progress on the path of modernization and democracy. That is, a path leading towards the West. There is no other way for us. Throughout our history, we have evolved towards the West, even during the period of the toughest Bolshevik domination. It seems paradoxical, but I can prove it to you. Finally, why should we beat around the bush? Outside NATO, we are floating in uncertainties and we have problems that we do not know how to solve. In NATO, we will continue to have problems, but we hope to solve them with greater ease because there will be a certainty. And I also think that we will also play a positive role, for all our neighbors and for our continent.

Views Joint Exercise With Hungary

LD0609224895 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 2000 GMT 6 Sep 95

[Report by Tibor Bogdan]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Contingents from the Hungarian and Romanian armies took part in a 20-day joint military exercise and training. The action started in Hungary, in Hodmezoovasarhely, and in the last eight days, members of the two armed forces exercised on the territory of the Lugoj garrison in Timis county. They took part in front exercises, tactical military maneuvers, and live fire exercises. The 20-day joint action ended today with a general assessment, which was also attended by Gheorghe Tinca, Romanian defense minister. [passage omitted]

At the news conference closing the joint military exercise and assessment, the Romanian minister stressed the good relations between the two armies, pointing out that the action served the strengthening of a relationship in new spirit. The relations of the two armed forces have reached a stage which makes possible such events. These are significant both in the military and the political fields, since they prove that the armies of the two countries take seriously the necessity of the Romanian-Hungarian reconciliation, which is of historic value, the Romanian defense minister stressed in his statement.

New Hungarian Ambassador on Bilateral Relations

AU0609230895 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 6 Sep 95 p 10

[Interview with Ferenc Szocs, newly appointed Hungarian ambassador to Bucharest, by Tibor Bogdan in Bucharest on 5 September: "The New Hungarian Ambassador in Bucharest Occupies the Position—The Franco-German Model Could Be a Nice Example"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ferenc Szocs, Hungary's new ambassador in Bucharest, presented his credentials to Romanian President Ion Iliescu on 5 September. The 49-year-old Ferenc Szocs knows Romania well, because he has already worked at the Hungarian Embassy in Bucharest as a cultural and press attache. As a career diplomat, Ferenc Szocs also represented Hungary in Bern and Rome.

[Bogdan] Mr. Szocs, what is it that you would definitely like to say on the occasion of your appointment?

[Szocs] I would like to speak about two things. On the one hand, I would stress that Hungary is also interested in seeing Romania modernize, develop economically, advance on the road to democracy, and succeed in

its integration efforts. If the two countries are moving in the same political direction and the two economies are developing in the same direction, the existing controversial issues can be solved more easily. On the other hand, Hungary is interested in seeing that the ethnic Hungarians in Romania feel well in their homeland and find their place, and all this happens without assimilation.

[Bogdan] What is your opinion about the Romanian-Hungarian relations as a whole?

[Szocs] I would keep away from using extremist tones. The bilateral relations are quite complex; there are areas where the relations are clearly developing well, and there are areas where we must solve serious tasks; there are also areas where the talks came to a sudden stop. Naturally, we have talked most about the basic treaty lately. The negotiations were discontinued during the summer, but I am sure they will continue. The national minority issue is still open. This is a controversial issue, and we want to advance here. We want a basic treaty that is based on European documents and provides solutions according to the present European norms. Other tasks are the following: We need one or two general consulates in Transylvania, in places with a large tourist traffic. At the time, Kolozsvár [Cluj] was a proper place, and it could be good now too, but we can also imagine other cities.

[Bogdan] The Romanian side proposed Constanta earlier....

[Szocs] From this point of view, Constanta is far. However, if we wanted honorary consulates outside Transylvania, consulates manned by local people, and not diplomas sent by the Hungarian Republic, Constanta would also be good, or even Iasi. But this is a totally different issue.

[Bogdan] According to the latest Romanian position, there is no need for Hungarian consulates in Romania at all.

[Szocs] At all interstate talks, we stressed the need for a consulate, because several million Hungarian citizens visit Romania every day. Lacking such a consulate, these people are forced to travel to Bucharest to settle their business, and this means extra expenses and waste of time.

[Bogdan] Mr. Szocs, with what will you start your activity?

[Szocs] I would like to do as much as possible for strengthening confidence between the two countries, and I will seek the figures, political forces, and circles that

urge the building of bilateral relations. More specifically, I would like to work on opening new border crossing points, setting up general consulates, and finalizing several interministerial agreements. Transportation and Telecommunication Minister Karoly Lotz will sign an aviation agreement in Bucharest at the beginning of next week. I will try to encourage the economic contacts.

[Bogdan] How should one evaluate President Ion Iliescu's appeal for Romanian-Hungarian reconciliation? Can one imagine the implementation of the Franco-German model in the Hungarian-Romanian relations?

[Szocs] It is rather important to improve relations and eliminate the historical convulsions. Therefore, the authoritative political circles in Hungary are studying the Romanian president's appeal with proper seriousness. The German-French reconciliation took place by first stipulating the tasks and then working on implementing them. It is also our task to outline the problems between the two countries. We have already achieved results, and the ready articles of the draft basic treaty show this. By implementing these tasks, we can reach the state of increasing the level of contacts and of having closer contacts between the two countries and the two peoples. We have concrete results, like the opening of the Tornya-Battonya border crossing point, the expansion of the border crossing points at Nagylak and Borsartand, and the modernization of their infrastruc-

ture, something tangibly contributes to easing or even stopping the jams at the border.

Gas Smuggling Into Former Yugoslavia Continues

AU0609163295 Bucharest COTIDIANUL

in Romanian 29 Aug 95 p 1

[Article by Cristian Rautu: "At Night, 4,000 Metric Tons of Gasoline Cross Over to the Serbs"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Close to the border with Yugoslavia, the Romanian highways display several peculiarities, one of which is the long lines of headlights of hundreds of cars driving bumper to bumper along the Danube into Yugoslavia, with the fall of darkness. [passage omitted] The vehicles are loaded with as many gasoline canisters and barrels as they can carry; almost 4,000 metric tons of gasoline cross every night from the Romanian bank of the Danube onto the Yugoslav one. Of this, about 400 liters are taken as "tax" by the neighboring border guards, while the rest is directly loaded on military tank cars and driven to the front. [passage omitted]

However, due to fierce competition, the gains of the smugglers have decreased of late and, as it is natural in a market economy, they have engaged in the more profitable smuggling of cigarettes.

Federal

FRY, Hungary Urge Peaceful Settlement of Crisis

*LD0609122895 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1119 GMT 6 Sep 95*

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Budapest, Sept. 6 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and Hungary urge the earliest possible peaceful settlement of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia and lifting of economic sanctions against Belgrade, officials of the two countries told reporters on Tuesday evening.

The delegations were headed by Serbian Deputy Prime Minister Slobodan Babic, who also chairs the Yugoslav parliament's foreign policy committee, and Hungary's Political State Secretary Csaba Tabajdi, who is in charge of national minority issues and relations with Hungarians living outside Hungary.

Babic said that both sides expressed interest in the immediate restoration of peace and lifting of the international embargo against Yugoslavia, which would also be highly beneficial for promoting cooperation between Yugoslavia and its neighbours.

Noting that there were no unsolvable problems in Yugoslav-Hungarian relations, Tabajdi expressed hope that Belgrade would take care about the ethnic composition of parts of Vojvodina populated mostly by ethnic Hungarians.

He underlined that the Hungarian Government understood the difficult situation in which Serbia found itself following the arrival of a large number of refugees from the Republic of Serb Krajina.

A small number of refugees have been accommodated in areas where ethnic Hungarians make up the majority population.

All of the questions addressed to the Yugoslav delegation at the press conference concerned this matter alone and Babic responded to them in the following way:

"I have rather hoped that you would inquire about the fate of 150,000 Serbs expelled from their ancestral homes (in the former Yugoslavia) who joined the 550,000 of Serbs who had already sought shelter in the Republic of Serbia.

"Bearing the heavy burden of sanctions and lacking humanitarian aid and other resources, Serbia has nevertheless done its best to help these unfortunate people," he said.

The Serbian delegation on Wednesday ends its visit to Hungary with a visit to the Raba automobile factory in Gyer.

Red Cross Can Cope With Only Half of Refugees

*LD0109183895 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1502 GMT 1 Sep 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sep 1 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Red Cross can provide only for a half of the 220,000 Serb Krajina refugees registered in Yugoslavia, Yugoslav Red Cross official Biljana Teodorovic told TANJUG Friday.

She said the situation was the most critical in Serbia's northern province of Vojvodina, where 84 percent of the 110,000 Krajina refugees there had been taken in by families.

About 250,000 Serbs fled the Republic of Serb Krajina due to Croatia's aggression launched on August 4 and found a haven in the Bosnian Serb Republic and Yugoslavia.

The Rome-based Committee for Aid to the Serbian People has sent more than 7,000 [figure as received] German marks worth of pharmaceuticals for Serb refugees from the Bosnian Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina, committee member, Yugoslav journalist Nikola Mihailenko told TANJUG Friday.

Mihailenko said the committee had so far sent medical supplies worth a total of 20,000 German marks, thanks to donations by Yugoslavs living in Italy and also scores of Italians.

Trade Unions Seek Action To Avoid Hyperinflation

*LD0609214195 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1904 GMT 6 Sep 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept. 6 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Trade Unions Federation has demanded from the Yugoslav and republican governments to take urgent action for avoiding hyperinflation.

In a letter sent Wednesday to Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic, Federation President Dragan Radulovic said that the unions were aware of the serious political situation and its effects on the overall economic and social life in the country. But the political events are being increasingly used as a pretext for inadequate and inefficient moves taken by enterprises and state bodies, argued Radulovic.

He particularly pointed out the latest soaring of prices of consumer goods and food, drop of wages in real terms, problems of unemployment, and fall in production, with which most employees had to deal every day. According to data from the Federal Statistics Bureau, inflation in July was 6.6 percent. Living costs [word indistinct] by 5.1 percent on the [word indistinct] figure.

In the first six months of 1995, inflation totalled 49.2 percent. The rate for the July 1994-July 1995 was 69.4 percent.

Serbia

Milosevic, Stoltenberg Hold 'Cordial' Talks

LD0609122495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1132 GMT 6 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 6 Sep (TANJUG)—This morning, President Slobodan Milosevic received Thorvald Stoltenberg, one of the cochairs of the international conference on former Yugoslavia. The talks that took place on this occasion have been described as cordial and open.

Special reference was made to the efforts aimed at removing the existing tensions and creating conditions for the resumption and successful outcome of the negotiating process in the interests of peace and normalization of relations between the peoples of former Yugoslavia.

Both sides expressed hope for success in the latest efforts and activities conducted within the framework of overall preparations for the coming international peace conference with the date already set for the first preliminary meeting at the level of foreign ministers in Geneva. It is also hoped that with the help of coordinated steps and an objective attitude by the international community, the preparations will secure an adequate amount of mutual understanding among the sides over the ways of finding a political solution to the crisis.

Official Indicates Willingness To Help Slavonia

AU0709052995 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Sep 95 p 3

[Article by P. Ilic: "So That Children Can Grow Up Without Worries"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Speaking about the current situation and the reasons that forced the Serbs to leave [Krajina] forever, Radmilo Bogdanovic, assembly deputy and vice chairman of the Chamber of Republics, told Paracin HRONIKA the following:

"It is obvious that the leaderships of the Republic of Serb Krajina and the Serb Republic have not fully understood the warnings from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic that the settlement of problems in these regions should be accelerated through the peace process. They have not understood that the war and time do not work for the Serbs in the Serb Republic and especially in the Republic of Serb Krajina. Had the leadership of the Serb Republic accepted the Contact Group's peace plan

as the starting point for the final peaceful solution in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, today we would practically have a state on the border with the Republic of Croatia.

"This means that the Serb Republic and its police and army would be on the border with the Republic of Serb Krajina. In that case, the Croatian Army would not have taken Glamoc and Grahovo and found itself behind Knin's back. This is the main reason for the fall of Knin Krajina." [passage omitted]

[Box, p 3]

The Return of Refugees

Speaking about the return of refugees from Krajina and other places to Croatia, Radmilo Bogdanovic stressed that everything will depend on our future diplomatic efforts, on our ability in the UN Security Council to draw attention to the newly arisen situation, on our ability to force the Germans and Americans, who are the most vociferous supporters of Croatia, to punish it with appropriate sanctions for what it did and then sit at the negotiating table.

We will not easily give up the regions in which our people had lived until recently. Regarding eastern Slavonia, I think that the Croats will not dare attack that territory, which is a compact territory ready to defend itself. If need be, we will help them, Radmilo Bogdanovic said among other things.

Draskovic Rumored To Be Next Prime Minister

AU0609154895 Belgrade TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 6 Sep 95 p 3

[Article by M.D.: "Serbian Prime Minister Mirko Marjanovic Will Soon Become Ambassador in Moscow"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yugoslav Ambassador to Moscow Danilo Z. Markovic will supposedly soon be replaced by Mirko Marjanovic, the current Serbian Prime Minister and a good connoisseur of the Russian market. As TELEGRAF has learned from sources close to the Federal Foreign Ministry, the list of new diplomats includes Balsa Spadijer, a hardened Communist and current president of the Serbian Constitutional Court, as the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] representative in Budapest. Zoran Janackovic, reportedly the most powerful cadre man in the Federal Foreign Ministry, will go to Greece to replace the current ambassador and new Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic. Beijing has been reserved for Dr. Slobodan Unkovic, minister of science and technology. According to our sources, Dr. Dusan Vejzovic, a minister in the Serbian Government, will be going to the Vatican.

Marjanovic's departure is not unexpected, as Vuk Draskovic has already been greatly rumored to be his successor and rumor has it that the support for his appointment is even coming from faraway Washington.

Arkan Confirms Presence of Volunteers in Slavonia
AU0709081995 Belgrade NASA BORBA
in Serbo-Croatian 6 Sep 95 p 2

[Article by J.P.: "We Are Serbian Army, and Not Paramilitary"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—Having stressed that he had "changed his clothes about an hour ago" and that he had replaced his uniform with plain clothes, Zeljko Raznjatovic Arkan, president of the Party of Serbian Unity, stated at a news conference yesterday that the Serbian Volunteer Guard (SDG), which is under his command (his post of the president of the party has been frozen), is the 11th Special Brigade of the Slavonia-Baranja Corps.

"We are the Serbian Army, a brigade for special operations, 'Tigers.' Our military address in Erdut is VP 9189/9. This means that we are not a paramilitary army nor a paramilitary unit," Zeljko Raznjatovic said, stressing that they are defending Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem, as well as Serbia and Yugoslavia.

As he said, the "first degree of readiness" is in force and this "will not allow surprises" because the Croatian Army is now much better trained than in 1991 and 1993 and has received equipment from NATO and the United States. According to Raznjatovic, Croatian drone airplanes, flying at the height of 400-500 meters in order not to get "caught" by radars, are taking pictures of Serb positions, and are doing so are also violating the territory of Yugoslavia.

Asked to say something about the volunteers and the SDG center, Raznjatovic said that in addition to volunteers from Serbia, volunteers from the Republic of Serb Krajina are also present in Erdut.

"In my center nobody was mobilized by force. I have not noticed that anyone was brought by force. No one came here in handcuffs. They are all conscripts of the Army of the Republic of Serb Krajina," Raznjatovic said, stressing this will remain the case as long as even an inch of Krajina existed.

"We must create an army capable of resisting Croatia. We will defend every inch of the country. My order is that those who shout 'withdraw' and try to retreat are to be shot. If this had been so in the past, the 12,500 square kilometers of land would have not been lost," Raznjatovic said. In the past, he accused the leadership of the Republic of Serb Krajina of fighting for power.

He claimed that there was no discipline in the army, that alcohol was consumed in the trenches, and that the "drunk army was the reason for the fall of a part of the Republic of Serb Krajina."

The leaders of the Party of Serbian Unity used this news conference to describe the incursion by Albanian terrorist groups in the territory of Yugoslavia as an attempt to open yet another front in Yugoslavia, "especially in view of the fact that another, the 'fifth' joint military exercise of Albanian and U.S. forces is being prepared at the same time."

Commentary Views New Aspects in Peace Efforts
AU0209163795 Belgrade NASA BORBA
in Serbo-Croatian 2-3 Sep 95 p 1

[Commentary by Gordana Logar: "The Salvation of Ethnical Cleansing"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In all these years of tragic war, in Serbia and Yugoslavia there have been many democratically oriented groups and a large number of distinguished individuals, not to mention the silent, maybe even, majority, who are deeply aware of the violence and are full of repudiation because of the ethnical cleansing of, first of all, Muslims. However, it is also hard to talk about peace and a happy ending today when there are hundreds of NATO air strikes over the part of Bosnia where Serbs live.

In the first military operations, particularly big ones, civilian victims are hardly even mentioned, and seldom counted, and yet it is certain that even when the targets are military, civilians are also killed.

Peace plans, negotiations, and peace conferences under the umbrella of bombs are certainly a sort of paradox, which has always been inevitable in history. If there were no war, there would be no peace efforts. But, one other paradox that is characteristic of this moment is definitely unusual.

According to what can be seen and heard on the public scene of Serbia and Montenegro, the action carried out by NATO, which has literally replaced the United Nations, is in the background. Is that allowed, even if peace has to be in the forefront? Is that understandable, particularly since that approach is manifested in circles that were so loud in threatening everybody for years, regardless of whether it was the policy of a country, or some groups in the world, or individuals, those who thought that it would have been better to hit a few military targets under Karadzic and Mladic's control (NATO generals now do that in the hundreds) rather than allow ethnical cleansing and the suffering

of civilians no matter on which side? [sentence as published]

This is certainly a moral question, or at least it should be a moral nightmare, for each representative and agitator of war, but that is obviously not the case. And, no matter how pathetic it might sound, it remains an indisputable fact that in the four years of war, it has been the innocent men, women, children, and elderly people who have suffered and are still suffering. Therefore, at the beginning of all peace talks that are initiated in the name of the victims, one should line up all the culprits and negotiators, without thinking, at least for one moment, who contributed how much, especially today, when former enemies of "peace at any price" first started talking about a "just peace" and eventually tried to sign it under clouds of smoke caused by bombardment.

For example, the U.S. negotiator and, it may be said without restraint, the personal envoy of Clinton, Mr. Richard Holbrooke, looked exceptionally satisfied in Belgrade on 31 August. The first reason was that the Bosnian Serb leaders gave an unreserved mandate to the Serbian president to vote and negotiate in their name. Mr. Holbrooke, however, did not want to bring this fact in relation with the air strikes, warning that Pale had agreed to that before the action of the NATO pact and that he was satisfied with Milosevic's efforts "after 15 months." Who started and inspired the war does not seem to be a topic any longer.

After negotiations with the Serbian president and consultations with Tudjman and Sacirbegovic, Richard Holbrooke obviously had reasons to be satisfied, adding that the peace talks "will be exceptionally demanding and hard," but he did not want to prognosticate how long they will be. Still, it appeared as though he could anticipate the success of his mission.

It was important for him to say that on that day in Bonn, at the meeting of the Contact Group "including the Russians," there would come to support and consensus about the "U.S. mission," after he communicated the results he had reached in Belgrade, Zagreb, and Pale. So it is evident, despite all the talks about the U.S. plan, about the 12 elements in it that Izetbegovic allegedly cannot accept, that in fact such a paper does not exist. On the negotiating table there are still the plans and maps of the Contact Group: the inevitable division of 51:49 percent and certain changes added by Bill Clinton, certainly not on his own. What is new is that NATO forces are over Bosnia; the EU negotiator, Mr. Bildt, is new, and his deputy is one successful U.S. diplomat; what is new is that Washington is in a hurry. Seen like that, those who criticize Pale for not having accepted that plan much earlier are right, earlier,

when the already forgotten U.S. representative in the Contact Group, Ambassador Thomas, was convincing them they could negotiate on everything, and that the approach was not "take it or leave it," and that the right of Bosnian Serbs to form a confederation with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was not excluded, but that negotiations first had to start. However, both then and now, it is clear that there will be no division of Bosnia-Herzegovina (at least for the time being). What is still being demanded is the mutual recognition of Serbia (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina, within their prewar borders, including eastern Slavonia. Maybe that is precisely why negotiations will be long and difficult; in order to make them easier, and to help President Clinton in his election campaign, NATO aircraft will, as it seems, be on standby for another period of time.

Should Bill Clinton and Richard Holbrooke be the only ones to be accused of all this, if the leaders from this region have in the last few years generously lent them, and others, their territories, and sacrificed their own and other peoples, in order for great powers, but also smaller ones, to be able to train their own muscles and fight for prestige on the Balkan training grounds. [sentence as published] However, what Washington could be accused of is its indifferent attitude toward Krajina and the Serbian exodus, the construction of a powerful Croatian Army, and the fact that they talk about "Bosnian Serbs" as aggressors, completely forgetting the Yugoslav People's Army, but also, as it seems, forgetting all the ethnical cleansing.

The question, therefore, is whether the powerful United States, which took over the leading position in the Balkans, will stop the Croatian Army and possible Muslim offensives (as allies of NATO?), and truly and openly prevent them "help a little bit" the destruction of Serb targets in Bosnia, attack eastern Slavonia or some Bosnian territories, as it happened, in a most drastic way, in Knin Krajina, which, just like Zepa and Srebrenica, was a protected zone.

According to Richard Holbrooke, the demands for mutual recognition on one side and Milosevic's demands for the lifting of sanctions are constant. But, the new element is that "the United States is especially insisting on respecting the rights of minorities and ethnical groups, so all Serbs could return to Krajina if they want to and Muslims and Croats to their captured territories, and if they do not want to, then the state from which they left must compensate them for all they lost." Is that their way to remain moral after all the ethnical cleansing, how possible this is remains to be seen.

In Holbrooke's statements, it can always be heard that after the peace plan is signed, there will follow large economic aid and the restoration of all that has been destroyed.

When all is put together, with the help of NATO bombings and by transforming war masters into peacemakers who now hastily look for allies among their former bitter enemies, maybe the signatures on the peace document are not that distant any more, no matter what those signatures are like.

However, what is certain is that nobody, not even the United States, which is such a fiery supporter of democracy and human rights, is interested in what the countries in which Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslims, and Croats will live after the war will be like. Or maybe that would be interfering with the internal affairs of other sovereign countries?!

NATO Viewed as 'World Sheriff' in Balkan Crisis
AU0209174195 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
2-3 Aug 95 p 17

[Commentary by Radovan Mucibabic: "How To Calm Down the Vampire"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Before he left for Europe on a "peace trip," Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke said to the U.S. television station ABC that his renewed negotiating team saw the main role in the U.S. peace plan for Bosnia played by Belgrade, that is, by Serbian President Milosevic, who could bring the Serbs from the former central republic of Yugoslavia [Bosnia-Herzegovina] to the negotiating table.

"Everybody is interested in peace," the high-level U.S. official said on that occasion, but, in the fashion of an experienced diplomat, he judged that it would not go smoothly. He covered the new U.S. peace initiative in a veil of uncertainty with his sentence that the mission was "a ray of hope, but at the same time a danger for the peace process!"

One day later, there was once again a direct broadcasting of death from the streets of Sarajevo. Unfortunately, the already seen happened once more. The live broadcast of death, directed by a psychopath, intended for the world public, this time took 37 lives. On the same day, the tragedy of innocent citizens, after the standard scheme, was attributed to the side to which something like that suited least. The already accused Serbs, who tried to negate the "dance of death" on the streets of Sarajevo in vain and demanded an elaborate investigation in which they too could participate, were officially marked as perpetrators in a quick investigation by experts without names. This could not pass unobserved by many who

expressed big doubts in the findings and the impartiality of the "team," the team that will one day report that the Muslim side had staged everything after all, but that it was not convenient to tell the truth at the time. Time will show who will be Mackenzie this time. There is no use of the truth that comes late, except maybe to appease the conscience of those who now have no names.

Only the naive and politically illiterate could not guess what would come next. What followed was the NATO retaliation over Serb military positions on nearly all of Bosnia and over innocent civilians. In only three days (Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday), NATO bombers "heroically" conducted 420 flights. As admitted by those who care about their own honesty and dignity, NATO openly put itself on the Croatian-Muslim side, meaning, they entered a war against Serbs from Bosnia.

The world organization [United Nations] has once again displayed a moral, and not just moral, disaster by openly standing by the side of the Western military alliance.

On the eve of the most furious bombing of Serbs in Bosnia, a historical agreement was signed in Belgrade between the leaderships of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Serbia, Montenegro, the Serbian Republic, and the Serb Orthodox Church on the participation of the Serb delegation in the peace process, with Slobodan Milosevic as its head. This was reported to all those who only a few hours later ordered NATO bombers to commit a crime, since retaliation cannot be called by any other name.

What is the profit of peace in the former Yugoslavia (for the United States)?

This was uttered by a U.S. businessman over a year ago in a CNN program, the topic of which was peace in the Balkans. Indeed, where is the profit(?) and what could satisfy the appetites of those forces that are bred on war, here but also elsewhere?

None of the Security Council resolutions ever gave the mandate to UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] or NATO to perform the military operations that are being carried out in Bosnia now. This is a fact that nobody even tried to deny, but the voice of those who should say that can, unfortunately, hardly be heard. The precedence that is called "NATO, the peacekeeper" has been made.

That has been felt throughout the world. At the end of the week, the British and U.S. press very indicatively promoted NATO to the indisputable world sheriff.

NATO claims that it has proved that the crime in Sarajevo was "without any doubt" committed by Serbs. Since it leaves no room for any evidence on the contrary, this conclusion must remain valid. But it would be

wrong to think that the finding of the culprit is a triumph of forensic medicine. Establishing the line of a shell fired from a very mobile grenade launcher is very hard work. But, one thing is clear, strategically speaking, the shelling of Sarajevo has no sense for Serbs, but it happened at exactly the right moment for the Bosnian Government.

Bosnian authorities do not like the peace plan proposed by the Americans, because it proposes the division of the republic, and in fact puts Muslims in the Croatian zone of influence, as the London TIMES wrote in their editorial under the title "How NATO Prolonged the War."

The Washington paper with the same name is already claiming that China is becoming the main cause of instability, tension, and conflicts in the Southeast Asia, particularly in the Taiwan channel and the South China Sea.

The commentator of that paper complains that the United States has reduced its presence in this region instead of making intense ties with the Philippines and Taiwan an imperative for the United States, and concludes that, if the United States remain passive, the South China Sea could become the Balkans of Asia!

The anemias of Russia in all the events that have marked this week is a long but a separate story.

Kosovo

Report Says Serb Refugee Arrivals Reach 9,000

AU0609213395 *Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT*
in English 4 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Over the past week and weekend more and more Serb refugees were stationed in many towns and villages of Kosovo. According to yet unconfirmed data, the number of Serb arrivals in Kosovo has reached 9,000. Sources from Kosovo towns report every day about new groups of Serbs reaching Kosovo. Serb arrivals have been so far accommodated in hotels, dormitories, factories, and other premises run by the Serbs, though there have been reports indicating that some have already been accommodated in the homes or apartments of Albanians.

The Prishtina-based Council for the Defense of Human Rights of Freedoms says that two Serb families have

already occupied the homes of Albanians, and two others have broken in by force into the apartments of Albanians in Ferizaj [Urosevac]. There have also been reports of numbers of Serb arrivals leaving Kosovo right after they reach it or any time they are given the chance to do so.

The LDK [The Democratic League of Kosovo] Information Commission in Prizren reported on Saturday [2 September] that some 130 Serb refugees headed towards Serbia only hours after they were brought in the town. According to the Commission, some 1,300 Serbs have already been accommodated in this municipality.

Serbs Provide Settlers With Jobs, Incentives

AU0609211895 *Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT*
in English 5 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Serbian local daily JEDINSTVO, a true mouthpiece of the Serbian regime, carries today a lot of stories and chronicles about Serb settlers in Kosova. This Prishtina-based [Pristina-based] newspaper reports that some 100 Serb settlers have already been employed in the Trepa mining complex, at a time that a further 400 colonists are to be provided jobs soon. [sentence as received] The Serb colonists are taking the very jobs from which Albanian work force have been forcefully kicked out from. A story carried by JEDINSTVO gives an account of the children of Serb colonists from Krajina region of Croatia, who have been registered in elementary and secondary schools in Prishtina. The Djura Jakisic elementary school of Kosovo capital saw the registering of 55 Serb colonists' children yesterday alone, whereas the city secondary economics school 45, at a time that other schools in Prishtina have welcomed other children. The Serbian-run Kosova Textbooks Publishers have secured textbooks for Serb colonists' children free of charge. The Serbian regime in Kosovo have committed all their efforts to ensure that Serb settlers, who have been brought here to colonize Kosovo, be offered permanent residence and other incentives. The Peje [Pec] Serb-run municipal authorities have decided all Serbs, who are to permanently stay in the territory of the municipality, will be allocated land from what they call public sector. The land is to pass onto the newcomers' ownership, the Serb authorities said.

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